

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, LITERATURE,
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THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW

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CHURCH OR GROUP MOVEMENT?

(The circumstances that called forth this little article are as follows: A Swiss political weekly newspaper asked a well-known representative of the Group Movement and myself to give a brief estimate of the arguments for and against this question which has so fully occupied the Swiss public during this last autumn. This was not published at the time, because the representative of the Group Movement, after he had read my reply to his article, did not want to pursue the discussion and withdrew his article. Also on this account I did not publish mine, although a few copies have been in private circulation. Yet because the editor of the *Evangelische Theologie*¹ has strongly assured me that on account of recent developments (with which I myself am now out of touch) it would be of importance to the German reader, I am quite ready to let it appear here, although for reasons unknown to me the Group Movement is now much less in evidence in Switzerland, so that from my point of view there would be no reason to write about it at the present time. The inverted commas in the text all refer to the article of the previous writer whose name has been suppressed here. Karl Barth.)

THE Editor has asked me to give my views concerning the Group Movement to the readers of this Quarterly. After much consideration of the subject, *if I must give an opinion* (I have not previously written a considered article on this matter) I am not only unable to answer by agreeing with the Groups, but I see between them and the Church a definite choice, and I must declare myself decisively for the Church, and in no sense for the Groups.

I

Each one of us according to his position in the Church and in the State, in science and in industry, in society and in the family, has definite responsibilities before God and man. These responsibilities we have to bear. We cannot withdraw from them; we must always seek for a better

¹ *Evangelische Theologie* Monatsschrift in Fortsetzung der 'Blätter zur kirchlichen Lage' und von 'Zwischen den Zeiten' Heft 6, June, 1936, p. 205 ff.

understanding and a new appropriation of them. And in the last resource none of us is, or can be, equal to them. We are allowed and even compelled to bear them gladly. The message of the Christian Church summons us—and indeed we need such a summons—to take up these responsibilities and the whole problem which they involve. In contradistinction to these there are other responsibilities which we as Christians are *not* expected to take upon ourselves, which it would be presumptuous of us to assume. We cannot take upon ourselves the responsibility for the truth of the statement (according to them a 'commonplace') that this present time is undoubtedly a time of 'fundamental crisis'—nor can we accept the responsibility of being able to offer a 'solution of all political and economic questions' (whether or not this solution be easy of application)—nor can we accept the responsibility for the announcement that 'great, yes, even colossal life-changing activities' undertaken by certain 'life-changers' are possible, and are already happening—nor can we accept the responsibility for the challenge to join such an 'army of the resurrected,' and for the promise that the world, by means of the deeds of that army, will 'soon' live to see most astonishing events. It is true that we have to pray for the fulfilment of God's will on earth, but it is not true that we have 'to fight for it.' We are responsible before God and before men, but we are not responsible *for* God or *for* men. God alone is self-sufficient, and alone suffices for all men. This indicates a limitation of our responsibilities which we must not overstep. He does not honour God who imagines he can deal with God's affairs as with his own. The Group Movement oversteps this limitation deliberately and fundamentally (not the Group Movement alone, but it amongst others), and therefore one must choose between it and the Christian Church.

II

Amongst these unavoidable responsibilities is the question of the worship of the Christian Church; that it may be per-

formed in due order to the honour of God and the freedom and purity of the faith. What else should concern me beyond this as a member of the Church? I cannot demand of this service that it should be successful, and certainly not that its success should be in 'astonishing and visible results.' Either my trust is in the word of God, that it is able to perform the visible works of God now—and under all circumstances *His* works—or I do not trust Him for it. If I trust Him for it then I place myself (as well as I am able and can understand) in His service, and ask no more of heaven or earth. If I do not trust Him, then I may make it my concern that of every thousand Europeans nine hundred no longer attend the Church, that politicians and the Press are not 'interested' in the message of the Church, that people ignore it, &c. Then I may discard as useless the sermon as a 'particular form of evangelism,' as a 'heritage of classical culture'; then I may set down on paper the extraordinary sentence: 'a message which is not verified by astonishing visible results as a divine word, has to-day no chance (!) of being heard!' Yet that extraordinary sentence is supposed to be 'the starting point of the Group Movement.' I call this treachery; which is not mitigated by the fact that it gives rise to a 'movement' which fights the 'evils of the world' and seeks to establish the will of God, but which clearly does not dream of shouldering the one responsibility which we are commanded to exercise for the Church.

Is not the view of the reality and efficiency or inefficiency of the Church, which is presupposed here, already out of date? Could any conscientious historian ignore the fact that the Church is after all far better prepared to-day than it was twenty years ago? When in the third Reich the political parties, the Press, the universities, the law, and art fell like skittles, then only this contemptible Evangelical Church without any Group Movement . . . has after all continued to stand, and has preserved its integrity. Yet I know this phenomenon well enough not to over-estimate it. I mention

it to indicate that in this direction also things are not so simple as they appear. Even without this fact I am prepared to subscribe to this : the Church demands from us the devotion which will enter her service with complete loyalty and hope, looking neither to the right nor to the left, but the devotion of the Groups begins at the point at which that loyalty and hope give place to the attitude of spectators who ask things from the Church which no one is permitted to ask. Therefore the way of the Church and of the Groups cannot be reconciled.

III

There are certain things about which it is essential to know that they exist and are true and of value, but can never be the matter for a 'movement,' the subject of propaganda and organization, of such and such a discipline, tactics and method. Amongst these things is the message of the Christian Church of Christ crucified and risen for us, and the faith in this message. Preaching, doctrine, teaching, pastoral work and the building up of the Christian congregation have nothing whatever to do with a 'movement.' The whole idea of conquering the world for Christ by means of a well led and aggressive Christian undertaking is quite in line with the Jesuit order, but is certainly not for the Christian Church. The Church has always been mistaken and in decay when she has followed this idea. But to the Groups it is essential that they follow just this idea. Their outlook is fundamentally directed to man, to the question, what will he find credible or incredible, what will be most effective in dealing with him? The Groups have put the 'world' in the position of a 'bank cashier' who tests the gold coin, i.e. the genuineness of the Christian proclamation. If a man with a title such as 'Secretary of State for the U.S.A.' utters only the very vaguest word in their favour, this becomes—I do not know why—a really magical testimonial. For them the ever quoted list of directors of factories, workers . . . students, sportsmen, medical men, engineers, agriculturalists, &c., which em-

phasizes the manifold character of their avowed followers is of value as a witness. To them the news that 2,500 and even more men responded to their call, and gathered in a 'Forum' in Copenhagen, is in itself an indication of victory for the Kingdom of God. I do not know how long the world will submit to being conquered for Christ in such a secular way. But this I do know, that the creation of this magic land composed of secular values and standards has nothing to do with prayer, with hope and with the message of the Christian Church, and that the Church can only be compromised by the Groups.

IV

There are affirmations and promises of a very high and comprehensive nature, which we can proclaim confidently because we do not proclaim them in our own name, nor by pointing to their realization in our own lives. But we can proclaim them solely by looking to an authority which has nothing to do with the personality and life of the one who is speaking, we can proclaim them trusting in the truth of the statement which has been made by this authority, and by trusting in the verifications which we may with certainty expect from this authority—but from this authority solely. I speak again concerning the message of the Christian Church, what the Church says and promises when she speaks of the grace and commandments of God, of forgiveness of sins and of eternal life. All this is related to Jesus Christ, so that the hearer has not the least need to believe in any human witness. If he believes these things, then he believes them on the authority of the Lord to whom the Holy Scriptures bear witness; if he does not believe, then it is Christ's own witness which he refuses. The men who proclaim the message of the Church can only confront the hearers with the witness of Holy Scripture, and hence with Jesus Christ, Himself; at no moment and in no way, whatever their intention, can they draw attention to themselves. Christ alone through the Scriptures, is the proof that they are speaking

the truth. In opposition to this, the Group's method of working is essentially to draw first and foremost attention to themselves, by making the claim that in this way they are leading us to Christ. This is done by their experience of being 'changed' and from the ability which is the result of them becoming 'life-changers.' Who would deny that there is such an experience and ability? And if a Grouper makes the claim in my presence to possess it how can I deny it? Yet I wonder that he wants to speak about it even for a moment; instead of proving it to me simply by his existence. But it seems to me too much to ask that he should expect me to take his existence, not to mention his claim and his witness, as the proof of faith in a matter of life and death. I can offer him all respect, all sincere sympathy, but he should not expect of me that I should see in him a miracle, and that because of his mediatorship I should believe not only in a 'way out of need,' but also in God Himself. But this is just what he does expect. The whole Group Movement consists of the expectation that we should accept these ladies and gentlemen—often most charming—as changed people upon their own showing, and that we should, on account of this, take up the Bible and believe in Christ. Is it possible to use this method just for a change? Should one take the miraculous reports of the Group as an adequate and acceptable supplement to the Christian message? According to that very message Jesus Christ is the end and the way to the end. The way of the Group is not Jesus Christ, but the ostensibly changed man and what this man is pleased to report about himself. In this case can Christ be indeed the end of all things? I do not see a supplement here, I only see a contradiction.

V

He who believes in God believes also in divine help which is always coming anew into his life, and into all men's lives. He believes in the commandments and in the guidance of God. He believes that human affairs may be altered and

changed through the will of God. Otherwise how could he accept God as the Lord of his life? But because he accepts God as his Lord, he leaves it to Him as to *how* He will help him, as to *what* He will command, as to *where* He will lead. He has no plan and no programme as to what the will of God may mean in his own life and that of others. He will only take for his programme what the Bible reveals to him of the divinely accepted and decided method of 'life-changing,' even though this 'has been the teaching of the Church for very many years,' and will be preached, I hope, with a more powerful voice, for many years to come. So the Church will not introduce this innovation, which puts the help of God on the same level as our conception of an altered world situation which seems to us both good and necessary. Do we not all long for a way out of the political and economic crisis which has apparently become permanent, a way out of the turmoil of the European consciousness which is developing into a state of world fear, a way out of all individual conflicts and miseries in which our contemporaries find themselves as far as one can see, whether alone or in connexion with the general sickness of this present age? And why should there not exist a partial fulfilment of their longing, why should there not be men who have experienced such partial fulfilment? Apparently there are such men—I have myself known them—who have come under the useful influence of those who exercise pastoral supervision within the Group. We wish them well! And they may be quite right if they are grateful for God's commandment, help and guidance, in view of such fulfilment of human longings. But we do not understand it aright if in thanking God we fail to see that His help might have come in a totally different form from that of our wish-fulfilment. Nor do we understand it aright if in thanking God we wish to confine Him in His activity of 'life-changing,' which we expect from Him, the partial or even total removal of our miseries and conflicts. Nor, again, do we understand aright if in thanking God we

interpret His Word as a beautiful humanistic and moralistic programme. In our gratitude to God we must understand these 'life-changing activities,' which we expect from Him, may not fulfil any of the changes which we naturally long for, and that our miseries may continue and perhaps even become greater and that we have simply to endure and bear them. The light hearted optimism by which we believe that we have already experienced this or that fulfilment of our desires, may rest on a base deception and may be a real abomination to the God whose thoughts are not our thoughts. Our thoughts concerning this and other changes which may be and should be and even are being brought about, may also become our way of avoiding God's real help. I do not know whether the Groups realize this. The Groups as such never betray the fact that they are aware of it. They praise God for His help just as if they were present in His councils, and knew under all circumstances what form His succour would take. They give praise to God for His help just as though the Bible contained no Jeremiah, and no Job, nor any Cross of Golgotha. The Groups' praise of God is too self-centred to be genuine praise; in the Bible it is *God's* help alone which is praised. As long as this is unaltered we cannot conscientiously agree that the Church and the Groups are two forms of the same thing, and are aiming at the same goal in different ways. But how can this be altered? For if that were the case the Group Movement would then cease to be the Group Movement.

VI

The Church does not proclaim her message without at the same time guarding her secret. Therefore the Church gives to man a serious human responsibility, but no responsibility for God. Therefore she serves without asking for results. Therefore she only believes and calls out faith, but does not appeal to works, numbers, or names. Therefore she points away from the man who receives grace to the grace of God Himself. Therefore she gives thanks to God

under all circumstances, and not merely in view of the fact that certain well meant human desires have been or will be fulfilled by Him. We might continue, therefore, that the message of the Church authenticates itself and needs no recommendations drawn from elsewhere. Therefore, the Church never attempts to explain or demonstrate the truth of the Bible by this or that humanistic postulate or moralistic experience. Therefore, also, she pays respect to the unique character of the Bible signs and miracles, and is not carried away in such a manner as to claim for herself and for her works the same authority as for these signs and miracles. Therefore, she never speaks of God and of Jesus Christ in parentheses which are intended to underline and confirm (not to say decorate) her meaning; nor just to give a name to her undertakings; nor to declare that certain human intentions and experiences are 'self evidently' the work of God's commandments and grace. This is just the decisive word that must be said against the Oxford Group Movement. There would be nothing to say against it if it presented itself simply and solely as one of the attempts which, since the time of the Stoics of old, have been made again and again, to lift the burden of man's guilt and destiny a little by means of moral exhortation and psychological treatment. Why should these attempts not be undertaken? Why should they not succeed to a large extent, within the realm to which they belong? If the Oxford Group Movement claimed no more than this, then perhaps something could be said in favour of it; but what makes it open to criticism is that it wishes to reform Christianity, and this reformation consists in unveiling the mystery of the Christian faith, and discrediting the freedom of grace, and the sanctity of the name of God, and in misinterpreting this in every possible way by means of humanistic and moralistic explanations. Only a few years ago the problem which exercised our thoughts most vividly was the so-called secularism of modern man of all nations and classes, that is to say the growing neglect of

the Church and men's materialism. Even at that time I could not join in the discussion and now I will give my reasons. To me there is only one dangerous form of secularism, and that is the secularization of Christianity and of the Church herself. If one were concerned only in guarding the mystery of the Christian message, then one would not need to be concerned about the supposed secularism of modern man. But it is not to be wondered at that undue concentration upon the wrong problem has caused the neglect which we now see of the more important task. A movement like the Group Movement, which is the latest attempt to secularize the Church, and which would make it lose its mystery and its spirituality, is not able to reform the Church. The Church's answer to the challenge of the Groups can only be this: that more than ever she must *be the Church*, and must strive to become the Church which God would have her to be.

KARL BARTH.

COINCIDENCE—AND ITS USE BY THOMAS HARDY

COINCIDENCE, by which is meant some noteworthy and astonishing conjunction of events, does happen in life. Most men could give from their own experience at least one striking example. Here is the writer's personal contribution. Having come to the last week of the summer holiday, it was his duty to post to the printer the subject of next Sunday's sermon. For some days he had been turning over in his mind the struggles which the Prodigal Son would have to face in the first years *after* his welcome home. The festive excitements over, his real problems would begin. Having rejected several alternatives, the writer fixed on the actual title—'The After-Life of the Prodigal Son.' He was tolerably pleased with what he thought to be the originality of the theme! It was, so far as he knew, an absolutely fresh idea. On his homeward journey to Liverpool, he happened to make a call in Peter Street, Manchester. Outside the new Albert Hall was a great yellow poster advertising the visit on the following day of Professor Wilfrid Moulton of Headingley College. His evening subject was 'The After-Life of the Prodigal Son.' The very words of the title were identical. There could be no common source, for neither before nor since did the writer ever meet with the same theme.

The use of coincidence is a main part of the stock-in-trade of the story-teller, and particularly of the writer of comedy. Terence and Plautus make joyous use of the most improbable coincidences. In the *Comedy of Errors* Shakespeare follows suit. With fantastic creations of this kind we make no objection to dramatic contrivances however far-fetched. The play is meant to surprise and entertain. Very well. We cheerfully accept the playwright's demands upon our credulity. He asks for two Dromios as well as for two

Antipholuses. Good! He shall have them and welcome, so long as he makes adroit use of them. A comedy is not a scientific 'document'—it is an escape from life.

When dealing with serious plays, our critical senses are more alert. For example, most people looking upon Romeo and Juliet lying side by side in death, are conscious not only of shock but of resentment, remembering that this pitiful issue was brought about by a coincidence. That coincidence was the quite improbable failure of Friar Lawrence's all-important letter to reach Romeo. The messenger was held up on a suspicion of plague, and so the letter was undelivered. At first sight we are tempted to protest. Then on second thoughts we acknowledge that dramatic justice after all has not been outraged, but that the destructive hatred of Montagues and Capulets was bound to involve their children in ruin.

We conclude that the use of coincidence is necessary and artistically allowable, but that such coincidences shall not contradict the essential logic of the plot. The exigencies of dramatic construction permit a certain schematic artifice and selection of material. We only demand that the dramatist shall keep faith with his audience and reduce his arbitrariness to a minimum.

The *Naturalist* school make high claims to verisimilitude. Their dénouements must not be the result of theatrical devices; they must give the impression of inevitability. The canons of this school are austere—'Don't meddle; don't pull the strings; above all, no intervention of Providence; no bourgeois partiality for "happy endings"; the *Deus ex machina* must not appear.'

With such watchwords, a dramatist should be particularly scrupulous in his use of coincidence. But when we ask—Are the conditions of average life impartially observed and fairly represented? the answer is, by no means. Consider e.g. that typical *chef d'œuvre* of modern realism, *Les Corbeaux*, by Henri Becque. Here is the story—Death has made a

sudden incursion into a Parisian family and carried off the head of the house before he has time to set his affairs in order. The widow and her three daughters are left exposed to the ruthless cupidity of various creditors. The 'Crows' swoop down upon them. The four women would be simply devoured if the eldest girl did not happen to find favour in the eyes of one of these birds of prey, an old man, Tessier. She marries this detestable individual, sacrificing herself to save her mother and sisters. That is, if the 'Crows' are upon you, you must propitiate the biggest and the blackest, so that he may make short work of the others. With naïve effrontery, Tessier remarks to the girl whom he is compelling to marry him: 'Ah, my poor child, since your father's death you have been surrounded by rascals!' yet of all the rascals he has been the greediest and the most dangerous. Is this dénouement inevitable? Can we not see the hand of the dramatist pulling the strings?

It was by no means *inevitable* that these four women should be thus victimized. True, they have no man to defend them. But M. Becque is responsible for that; he has sent the son away to his regiment; he has also been pleased to make the fiancé of one of the girls a miserable poltroon who crumples up at the first shock of misfortune; he has in addition made the widow incapable and hysterical (although bourgeois women in France, as a rule, are notoriously 'cogent'). At the worst, salvation might have been sought in some other incident. But no! M. Becque has willed otherwise. He observes 'the Gods don't appear.' True, they don't always come; but after all they do come sometimes. A thing may be true even if it is in the Bible! In any case, life is forever creating diversions which thwart all kinds of projects, the schemes of rogues as well as those of honest men. Is it not clear that M. Becque, in spite of his claim to strict impersonality, is manipulating events so as to illustrate his own cynical philosophy? Even a Naturalist goes to Life's archives armed with his own bunch of keys.

When we come to the wide realm of Fiction, it may be admitted that the legitimacy of the use of coincidence depends upon the sort of story in question. A detective novel could not be contrived without a liberal employment of the device. So in melodrama or tales of adventure we expect to be astonished and excited by unlooked-for coincidences. In *Treasure Island*, for example, we applaud the ingenuity of the author in leading us into one impasse after another, knowing all the while that in the nick of time Pew will be trampled to death by the horses of the Excise officers; that Jim Hawkins in his perilous apple-barrel will safely emerge after having overheard the plots of the mutineers; that the same wonderful boy will be one too many for Israel Hands. We are repeatedly lured to the very edge of a precipice and then miraculously saved just when falling over. A 'good yarn' involves these arbitrary crises and heaven-sent deliverances.

Charles Darwin confessed that though he had lost the taste for great poetry, painting and music, and the 'fulness' of Shakespeare 'nauseated' him, yet 'novels which are works of imagination, though not of a very high order, have for years been a wonderful relief and pleasure to me. I bless all novelists . . . I like all if moderately good and if they don't end unhappily—against which a law ought to be passed!' Here is a great man devoted to the pursuit of inexorable facts in the physical world, a man (if ever there was one) incapable of falsehood or misrepresentation; yet he allows that he was entertained and consoled by stories with happy endings! In all such inventions about fortunate people and lucky events, we may be sure that there will be the reek of unabashed coincidence. Writers of this kind of story do not pretend to give an impartial transcript from life. The world they describe is frankly a world of agreeable make-believe.

In the case of serious novels, the conditions which govern the use of coincidence are stricter. Here the reader has the right to ask that the laws of probability shall be fairly

respected. No doubt extraordinary coincidences do happen in real life; no doubt the construction of a plot involves a certain symbolic selection of incident. But the author must not go too far. He must not outrage plausibility.

In the highest ranges of fiction, the author's artistic and moral obligations are even more exacting. The reader should be convinced not only that events *might*, but that they *must* have happened so. Seton Merriman's *The Sowers* is a good example of a novel which is serious and yet is not on the highest level. It opens with a stark coincidence. Steinmetz and Prince Paul find themselves together in the middle of a Russian steppe. A steppe is an affair, let us say, of very considerable dimensions! Yet here, in this vast prairie, they come across the body (of all the people in the world) of Sidney Bamborough. This coincidence which touches the limit of improbability, is crucial to the story. Many readers find their enjoyment of the novel somewhat marred by this opening *coup de théâtre*. On the whole, in this middling class of literature, an occasional shock of this kind is felt to be permissible, but the writer must take care not to overdo it.

The main purpose of this paper is to examine the use of coincidence by the most famous of modern English novelists—Thomas Hardy. The writer may confess that in the days of youth the sombre genius of Hardy hypnotized him. Under this spell he made a sort of mournful pilgrimage to most of the places mentioned in the Wessex novels. More recently, however, he has steadily arrived at the conclusion that Hardy is an over-rated writer. Not only the moral force, but the artistic merit, of his novels is seriously blemished by the inveterate and arbitrary intrusion of his own philosophical views. His speciality—the concoction of bizarre combinations of circumstances, does not trouble us in social comedies such as *The Hand of Ethelberta*. The mechanical improbabilities, however glaring, of his earlier stories are overlooked because we understand that they are works of deliberate extravagance

Although, even here, Hardy's perverse and sly malevolence peeps out from time to time, we make allowance for such temperamental distortions, and proceed to enjoy the cleverness of the tale.

But Hardy professed to be more than a teller of tales. He was by no means content to write fiction that should enable readers to while away an idle hour. He comes forward, a rebel and a reformer, to proclaim and recommend a certain view of the universe. His books are not ejaculations. They are the deliberate utterance of a man with what the Germans call a *Weltanschauung*—a world view. It is this combination of tragic intensity with cosmic range that sets him apart from other modern novelists.

Mr. G. K. Chesterton's description of Hardy as 'the village atheist blaspheming over the village idiot' was perhaps not spoken in love, but it was not far from the truth. Lest we should be unjust, we will content ourselves with the judgements of his friends.

Edmund Gosse (a life-long friend, and pall-bearer at his funeral) thus sums up: 'During the whole of his long career, Mr. Hardy has not budged from his original line of direction. He holds that, abandoned by God, treated with scorn by Nature, man lies helpless at the mercy of "those purblind Doomsters," accident, chance and time, from which he has to endure injury and insult from the cradle to the grave. This is stating the Hardy doctrine in its extreme form, but it is not stating it too strongly. This has been called his "pessimism," a phrase to which some admirers, unwilling to give things their true name, have objected. But, of course, Mr. Hardy is a pessimist.' George Gissing is himself hardly a cheerful writer, but there was something sinister about *Jude the Obscure* which revolted him. 'A sad book,' he says in a letter to a friend. 'Poor Thomas is utterly on the wrong tack, and I fear he will never get back to the right one; at his age, a habit of railing at the Universe isn't overcome.'

Here is Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's verdict: 'Many of us, out of regard to the Hardy of the past, the Hardy who was so much to us, have been constrained to silence upon those developments which began with *A Group of Noble Dames* and seem now to be accepted by Mr. Hardy himself as the very heart of his business on earth. Rightly or wrongly, I think wrongly, he has since come to look upon himself as a leader of revolt, and deliberately to accentuate those features which seemed to us less dignified.'

A pessimist has been defined as a man lacking mental courage. Was it not a radical defect of character that spoiled the artist in Hardy? A close associate, Edward Clodd, wrote of him after death: 'A great writer, but certainly not a great character.' Anthony Hope, in a letter to Clodd, gives us a sidelight on Hardy which is here reproduced without comment: 'Not so happy, I fear; it was he who maintained that it was better not to be born, and yet was nervous in the boat' (Clodd's yacht). Sir James Barrie tells us: 'When Hardy was born, the doctor thought him to be dead, and dropped him into a basket.' Barrie also refers to the significant disclosure (in the official biography) that from his earliest years, Hardy *disliked being touched by anyone*. He suggests that this fact is more revealing than anything else in the book—adding: 'I believe I can say that outside a relative, no man alive ever put his hand on his shoulder.' In the light of modern psychology, it is not far-fetched to believe that there was in Hardy, from the earliest days, some vein of morbidity, some defect of vitality, which betrays itself in his writings. A course of skilled treatment by a Harley Street specialist in psycho-therapy might have given him a totally different outlook!

Hardy once wrote a challenging essay on 'Candour in Fiction,' complaining of the charlatany pervading so much of English fiction. He was impatient of 'the censorship of prudery, gentility and puritanism' which obstructed him in his desire to speak the truth. Now Hardy was the last

man who had a right to demand that his critics should be mealy-mouthed. The man who gives no quarter can expect none. The sensitiveness of rebels is a curious feature in history. Their assumption seems to be that the orthodox, being stupid and insincere, should conduct themselves with becoming respect when enlightened iconoclasts set about insulting their faith and overturning their views. Quite normally, a man so militantly 'candid' as Hardy resented the 'candour' of his critics. It is notorious that it was Hardy's sensitiveness to adverse criticism which decided him to abandon the writing of novels and return to his first love, poetry. It is too true—Hardy could not stand *being touched by anyone*.

What then is our charge against him? It is not that he does not teach Christian ethics. No reasonable man will condemn a writer merely because he rejects the Faith. Indeed, most Christians are broad-minded enough to admit that it is salutary that we should be occasionally shocked out of our complacency. It is well that we should be made to face the tragic side of life and the curses in the wake of civilization. A religion whose book is the Bible, whose sign is the Cross, whose literary monument is *La Divina Commedia* can never rest in a facile optimism. The candid recognition of reality is the first step to betterment.

It may be urged that Hardy is an artist and that he must be judged solely from the aesthetic point of view. This is like saying that *The Pilgrim's Progress* might be appreciated even by those who rejected (to use Hardy's own phrase) its 'untenable redemptive theolatry.' Probably Bunyan would rather forgo the admiration that approved his artistry but rejected his doctrine. Is it possible, in the case of a writer as serious as Hardy, to dissociate form from substance?

If a man produces a work of art full of power and charm upon the assumption that the earth is flat and that two and two make five, should a critic hold his peace about the assumptions? The answer is 'Yes,' if the writer be merely

whimsical and extravagant. But if he has written his book with the express purpose of propagating his assumptions, then surely 'No.' Hardy's cosmic philosophy is inseparably blended with his artistic form. Even his scenic settings and Nature backgrounds are strictly controlled by his dogmatic purpose.

Leaving aside all other controversial points, this paper will limit itself to Hardy's use of coincidence. Even professed disciples find his everlasting recourse to this trick wearisome. We *know*, when Troy is carried out to sea that he will not drown. He is sure to turn up again at the most dreadfully inconvenient moment! It was necessary to Hardy's scheme that he should *seem* to have been lost; it was equally pre-destined that he should make his disastrous reappearance.

We *know*, before Mrs. Yeobright reaches her son's house, that she is sure to be repulsed, and of course under the most intolerable circumstances. She is aware that Clym is within, for she has seen him go towards the house. He falls asleep! His mother's knocking disturbs him, but we *know* he won't be allowed to wake really. Eustacia might, in a burst of pity, have opened the door, but (bad luck again) her lover Wildeve is made to choose this crucial hour for a visit. When she is free to open the door, she finds the broken-hearted mother gone. Thomasin Wildeve's baby is christened Eustacia. We wonder why! It is because Clym and Eustacia have just had their fatal quarrel and Eustacia has eloped with Wildeve. Of course, the letter of reconciliation sent by Clym to Eustacia never reaches her. Hardy sees to that. He arranges a double delay on the part of Fairway and Eustacia's father.

Similarly, we suspect at once that though he vanishes into the void after buying Henchard's wife, the sailor New-som is only lying *perdu*. He will start to life again when Hardy's ironical trumpet summons him.

Elfride (the heroine of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*) had lost an ear-ring while with Smith on the cliff. She is now resting with her second (or third) lover, Knight, in the same place.

The sun shines every day (but only for a moment or two) into a certain cleft of the rock. Hardy wills that those few moments shall coincide with their presence, so that the jewel sends its incriminating gleam into the jealous mind of Knight. In the end, the rivals, Knight and Smith, unknown to one another, are put into the very train in which lay the lifeless body of the woman whose hand they were once more about to seek in emulation.

The Wessex novels fairly teem with coincidences of this sort. In all of them, had one set of circumstances happened ever so little beyond the other, all succeeding life would have been different for those concerned. But it is Hardy's will that things should work together for evil. When his characters act from the best intentions, it is even more certain that the consequences will be unfortunate. For irony is the breath of his nostrils.

Waiving the point as to whether in human affairs it is right to lay such decisive stress upon the fortuitous, we are certainly justified in asking whether it is fair and candid to make coincidence practically always destructive. How often we cry out: 'This is not playing fair; this is gratuitous cruelty!'

In calling a volume of poems by the title *Satires of Circumstance*, Hardy draws pointed attention to this most questionable aspect of his work. These *Satires*, fifteen in number, are some of the bitterest things ever penned—cynical little pictures of depravity and turpitude. A girl takes the money which her aunt has collected for her own funeral—and spends it with her young man at a public house. Two mothers are quarrelling over the graves of their children, in entire ignorance of the fact that the bodies had been removed—to make a new drain. A dead woman recognizes with gratitude that someone at all events remembers her, for the ground over her grave is disturbed. Is it a relative, a friend, a lover? No, it is her little dog. Is the dog then (in contrast to faithless humanity) inspired by fidelity of remembrance? O no!

He had buried a bone there—forgetting that it was his mistress's resting-place. This kind of thing became an obsession with Hardy. Is it harsh to describe it as peevish and disgusting? There may have been (as has already been suggested) some psycho-physical cause which accounted for Hardy's *malaise*. At any rate, no one can deny that he deliberately exploited this desperate vein of pessimism. One wearies of the perpetual *advocatus diaboli*, just as much as of the airy Panglossian.

Hardy deals rigorously with carping critics who (in his own words) 'listen to the key creaks and are deaf to the diapason.' It is no sin on the part of impartial critics to protest against a onesidedness that is fundamental.

Human life may be compared to the English climate. It has some bad days, but it has also lovely spells. Englishmen often revile it, but in their hearts they know that it is a very tolerable blend. What we ask from a writer is a reasonable balance between sunshine and rainfall. In Hardy the rainfall is excessive. Hardy is free to think what he likes, but we also have a right to question whether the rain falls quite so often, whether the drizzle is quite so dense that the right people practically always miss one another, and the wrong people hardly ever do. Even the unconscious—'the unmotived dominant Thing'—might blunder into occasional beneficence. Of course, if Hardy believes that spirits positively malign play the dominating part in weaving our destinies, we know where we are. But perhaps even he would shrink from putting the Devil on the throne of the Universe. As it is, his selection and manipulation distort life. The balance-sheet is not drawn up by an impartial accountant. Stressing the liabilities and belittling the assets, he is able to declare life bankrupt. He professes to tell home-truths—he is really the teller of half-truths.

The most dreadful sentence in modern literature is inscribed over the hung and hooded figure of Tess—'Justice was done, and the President of the Immortals . . . had ended his

sport with Tess.' Hardy stands or falls with Tess. To the embittered, disillusioned post-war generation it became the most famous novel of the day. The collected edition of the Wessex novels starts off with *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. Whether we like it or not, it is his capital book and carries the most of his meaning. Its emotional power is overwhelming. James Moffatt puts it among the books he will never read again, because of its 'gratuitous cruelty.' In reading it, pity well-nigh extinguishes all critical reactions. Terrible to read, what must it have cost in anguish to write?

When one reflects calmly, the impression deepens that this devastating inquest on life is not conducted according to strict rules of evidence. One ends by saying: The dice were loaded against Tess from the beginning. And by whom? By Nature; by Society? No! By the President of the Immortals? No! But by Thomas Hardy, and no other. Tess is not a convincing character; she is a pitiable puppet.

In his *Aspects of the Novel*, E. M. Forster offers a searching criticism of Hardy. 'Hardy,' he says, 'arranges events with emphasis on causality. The ground plan is a plot, and the characters are ordered to acquiesce in its requirements. . . . His characters are involved in various snares, they are finally bound hand and foot. There is ceaseless emphasis on Fate; and yet for all the sacrifices made to it, we never see the action as a living thing. The fate above us, not the fate that works through us—that is what is eminent and memorable in the Wessex novels. The characters have been required to contribute too much to the plot. This is the flaw running through his novels. He has emphasized causality more than his medium permits.'

In answer, then, to the question: 'Does the vitality of Hardy's characters survive the plot and its pronounced causation?' our critic answers, 'No.' This judgement of Forster's tells all the more because he is frankly in sympathy with Hardy's genius. We may watch the inexorable working out of this 'causality' in the case of poor Tess.

First, Hardy invokes the aid of *Heredity*. It is suggested that Tess acquired certain physical charms from her ancestry; on the other hand it is hinted more than once that other perilous traits in her make-up are due to the degeneration of the ancient D'Urberville blood. Next, *Environment*. The girl is set down in a squalid easy-going home; the father a romantic degenerate, the mother feckless and unprincipled. The family is always on the edge of ruin. Tess's age is fixed at sixteen. Had she been younger, she would not have taken the situation, nor have been a temptation to young D'Urberville. Had she been older she would have been more 'experienced' and probably able to 'take care of herself.' Further, she is given a precocious physical development which made her appear more of a woman than she was. Hardy insists upon her warm, unethereal, solid flesh and blood composition. Now, *Accident* and *Coincidence* come into play.

In order to bring her within the orbit of Alec D'Urberville, a fatal accident to Prince (the family carrier hack) is staged. A malevolent fate follows her to the house of Mrs. D'Urberville—the 'D'Urbervilles' turn out to be not genuine possessors of the name, but rich parvenus who have assumed it. Hardy makes Alec a sensualist. Tess, as we have seen, is a potential temptress, being made beautiful and sexually appealing. In order that Alec (whose passions certainly do not need much stimulation) may be free to pursue his nefarious design, he is without employment, and spoiled by his mother, who is not only ageing but also blind. She is thus incapable of seeing misconduct, let alone hindering it. Having resisted Alec's significant approaches for a time, Tess is flung into his arms by another accident. A crowd of drunken women having insulted her at a fair, D'Urberville rescues and carries her off on his horse. Weary in mind and body, and somewhat softened towards her deliverer, her power of resistance is undermined. She is seduced. After the birth and death of her child (Sorrow) Tess is allowed

to pick herself up—but only to be knocked down again. This time a coarse sensualist would be ineffective, so Angel Clare is brought on the scene—a parson's son, refined, intellectual, and a rebel. He attracts and is attracted by Tess. He is unconventional—otherwise he would not be on the farm, and would not have fallen in love with a dairymaid. But his freedom and unconventionality are only skin-deep. When the pinch comes he turns out to be timid and insincere. His free-thought is only a pose. Thus Tess is damned both ways. Had he not been free from old-fashioned prejudices he would not have been her lover; but he must also be exhibited as, at bottom, a slave to Mrs. Grundy, or he would have stuck to her.

Forsaken by Clare, she is driven by the misfortunes of her family and the death of her father, to accept work at Flintcomb. The work is hard and bitter, her master is a vindictive curmudgeon (who turns out to have a grudge against Clare!). Her situation being practically intolerable, the stage is set for the re-appearance of Alec. Her daily slavery under the eye of a brutal master, Alec's pressing advances, her mother's appeals to her to accept Alec because of the financial advantages—all these prepare the way for her second seduction by her former lover. In order to make Alec's re-entry less alarming, he has become a sort of evangelist, having been 'converted' by Clare's father (of all men)!

Those who know their Hardy fully expect that Clare will return—though, of course, too late. He would doubtless have been melted by Tess's desperate appeals, and come earlier, only an inconvenient fever prostrated and delayed him. When he does arrive, it is therefore only to make matters worse. Instead of being a deliverer, he is an irritant. With no way out of this dreadful impasse, Tess stabs Alec (there was violent D'Urberville blood in her), goes back to Clare, is arrested and hanged. The wretched Clare then consoles himself with Liza Lu, Tess's younger sister! Hardy's bitter

irony is constantly in evidence—when Clare (after hearing Tess's confession and forsaking her) visits his home, his father is made to read as the lesson the chapter in praise of a virtuous woman.

The letter of confession written by Tess to Clare, before their marriage, does not reach him. Pushed under the door it finds its pre-destined place under the carpet. Here again, the event is designed to be doubly ruinous. Clare does not get the letter, but Tess naturally assuming that he has got it, interprets his silence as being forgiveness and consent on the part of her 'emancipated' lover. No wonder Forster exclaims against the too-pronounced 'causation' in the novels. Heredity, Environment, Accident, Coincidence—all conspire against Tess. She is vowed to misfortune. Why should we withhold judgement? In spite of its immense emotional appeal, the book is cumulatively mendacious. It is a fake. We are far from being convinced that things must have happened so.

Our own man of letters, E. E. Kellett, somewhere observes that in the case of Scott, Thackeray, Reade and Trollope, their characters run away with them. 'With Hardy, the reverse is true. He runs away with them. You say—if only he would let them alone, and let them be themselves, how pleasant the story would be. But just when you have formed a view of their characters, and have conceived some idea of the way in which they ought to behave, their creator gives the strings a jerk, and they do something quite incomprehensible. Tess is as much of a challenge as of a woman. There was no need for her either to do what she did, or to be hanged for it. But she had to illustrate one theory, just as Hogarth's "Idle Apprentice" had to illustrate another. Having done this, Hardy proceeded to throw the blame, not on himself, but on the Maker of the World, the President of the Immortals, or whatever else he chooses to call his whipping-boy.'

The woman who wrote in Barrie's copy of *Tess*: 'How I

'hate Thomas Hardy!' had reason on her side. She had spotted the true villain of the piece.

We have made no reference to the deep-seated philosophical ambiguity and confusion that mar this novel. Nor do we now complain that throughout his work there is no glimpse of religious faith in any dominating, redemptive sense. Hardy is completely outside the Catholic order of thought. He gives neither room nor respect to the Grace of God.

Into these and other weighty matters we do not enter. Our case is that Hardy does not control his temperament so as to 'play fair.' A re-reading of the Wessex novels does not leave the impression that we have been listening to the solemn and convincing summing-up of a judge; we are rather reminded of the excitement and fanaticism of an advocate, speaking to his brief.

F. BROMPTON HARVEY

CASTE AND SOCIAL REFORM IN INDIA

DESPITE all that has been said and done by Hindu leaders during the past quarter of a century, to break down the lines of social differentiation in India, caste persists as the great social order of Hinduism. Dr. G. S. Ghurye, perhaps one of the ablest students of caste problems to-day, points out in a recent study of the situation,¹ that among certain Hindus who are grouped together for political purposes, caste-consciousness has become 'more definite and virile.' He believes that in recent years the spirit of caste patriotism has 'created an unhealthy atmosphere for the full growth of national consciousness.'

The origin of the Hindu Caste System may be traced to the remote and unchronicled past when, about three or four thousand years ago, bands of tall, fair-haired men with the fundamental features of Aryan culture entered India from a common camping-ground in central Asia. It is believed that, as they wandered from one river-valley to another in the land of the Five Rivers, now known as the Punjab, they drove before them, or reduced to vassalage, the earlier 'black-skinned' races.

It is probable that most of the hymns of the *Rigveda* were composed by the Aryans in their settlements along the Indus, and on their march eastward toward the upper Ganges and the Jumna. In these hymns, about one thousand in number, we have the earliest records of the life and thought of settlers who were still a single people. Gradually, however, the Aryan colonies came to be made up of four classes: (1) the Aryan conquerors who were proud of their fair skins and jealous of their traditions; (2) the mixed population; (3) the lower strata composed of the conquered tribes; and (4) the native races who lived outside the territory possessed by The Aryans, and who still held out against the

¹ G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India*, pp. 184 ff. (N.Y.).

invaders. The last group were referred to as *desyus* or *desas*, and were abhorrent to the Aryans on account of their black skins and their religion. The invaders scornfully referred to them as 'noseless, speechless and godless.'

As yet, however, there were no caste distinctions among the Aryan communities; they spoke the same language, practised the same religious rites, and worshipped the same 'bright gods' of Nature. 'There is no authority in the hymns of the Vedas,' says Max Müller, 'for the complicated system of castes; no authority for the offensive privileges claimed by the Brahmans; no authority for the degraded position of the Sudras.' Society was roughly divided into three classes, nobles, priests, and the common people.

Many authorities are of opinion that it was in the *Madhya desa*, or 'middle land,' amidst a population of mixed Aryan and Dravidian blood that the social and religious ideas of the Vedic Aryans developed into a classic form of Brahmanic culture. Also, here was founded the system of caste by which Hindu society has been regulated ever since.

Whenever in the history of the world one nation has subdued another, whether by active invasion or by gradual occupation, the conquerors have taken women from among the conquered people as concubines or wives. But they have taken every care to reserve their own daughters for marriage only among their own clansmen. Where the two people are of the same race, or at any rate of the same colour, this initial stage soon passes away, and complete amalgamation follows. The conquerors are soon absorbed by the conquered. This is due, perhaps, to the fact that the former are strangers to the land, and the latter form the bulk of the population. In a comparatively short period, the conquerors adopt some of the ideas and usages of the natives.

But the results are different when, on the other hand, marked distinctions of race and colour intervene. The tendency is then in the direction of distinctions and class-feeling. A class of half-breeds springs up as a result of the irregular

unions between the men of the fairer race and the women of the darker. These unions are not favoured by the fairer race, as they look down upon the darker class and regard them as 'inferior.'

Thus it is clearly seen that, as the social life of the Aryan community became more complex, a prejudice, common to the Aryans and the various aboriginal tribes, manifested itself against the giving of a daughter in marriage outside the tribal limits. The Aryans, wishing to preserve the traditions of their race, and to preserve the community from being engulfed in the masses of the darker races by further inter-marriage, closed the doors upon the other races. The colour line became the basis of all distinctions. Thus, says Dr. Farquhar, 'as the conquests of North India proceeded, and the various aboriginal peoples came under Brahman authority, there was only one method of organization possible, namely, to make the distinction between pure Aryans and aborigines absolute, and to allow the old tribal differences among the latter to remain.'

Hence arose restrictions as to *connubium* (right of inter-marriage) and *commensality* (the right of eating together). In time sentiment was created to differentiate between the we-group or in-group, and everybody else, or the other-group, the out-group. In a comparatively short period, the insiders in the we-group, who were in a relation of peace, order, law and government and industry to each other, became antagonistic to all out-siders. Loyalty to the group, sacrifice for it, hatred and contempt for all outsiders, grew up together. These relations and sentiments constitute a social philosophy, and in time become sanctified by connexion with religious beliefs and authority.

There is reason to believe that it was at this time that the *Purusha Sukta* hymn was incorporated in the *Rigveda*, to establish the theory that the Brahman, the Rajanya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra had each a separate origin in God. Each was declared to have a separate creation and therefore

belonged to a distinct race. Here we have the religious sanction of a system of caste based on the ancient belief in the separate origin of distinct groups of men.

In an age when the art of writing was unknown, when the hymns and sacrificial formulae had to be handed down by word of mouth, from father to son, those families that knew the holy words by heart became the hereditary owners of the liturgies required at most of the solemn ceremonies in honour of the gods. Members of such households were chosen again and again to conduct the tribal sacrifice, to chant the battle hymn, and to implore divine aid or to pray away divine wrath. The prayers and hymns which seemed specially efficacious were handed down to posterity as precious legacies of the favoured households. In the earliest historic period the sons of the higher classes spent many years in learning from their fathers or teachers their treasured literature. This oral instruction is described in the *Pratisakhyā* of the *Rigveda*, written probably in the fifth or sixth century B.C., and constantly alluded to in the *Brahmanas*.

In the course of time, the religion of the early Aryan settlements grew to be entirely a matter of ritual, a strict compliance with detailed and punctilious rules, which, later, became connected with notions of magical effects produced by particular rites and ceremonies. The sacrifices to the gods were regarded as valueless if a single syllable or word of the accompanying Vedic hymn were incorrectly intoned. It was generally believed that the disasters which would result from a blundering performance might involve a whole tribe or kingdom in ruin. Consequently, for centuries the Vedic sacrifices to the gods, the Vedic hymns, and the intonation of the presiding Brahman, dominated Hindu society. The welfare of the king and people depended on the efficacy of the Vedic sacrifice and on the Brahman who was supposed to have an intimate knowledge of the right way to win the favour of gods. The Brahman became the first

recognized ruler of Aryan society. He assumed the rôle of magician, astrologer, philosopher and moral leader; he was not only the psalmist and composer of hymns to the gods, but teacher, councillor, and director of the policy of the Aryan community as well.

Thus, there came a time when the Brahman put himself in a position of the highest importance, gradually making himself more and more secure in that position by teaching that his authority had been given to him by God, and that divinity could only manifest itself on earth in his own class. In the *Atharvaveda*, the Brahman is hailed as 'Kinsman of the Gods,' and curses are pronounced on any one who should dare to abuse the Brahman or touch his wealth and property. 'Cut him to pieces, cast him out and burn him; Smite him so that he may go down from Death's abode to evil places.'

In a similar way, perhaps, the idea spread that, as it was the duty of the *Brahman* to propitiate the national gods, even so it was the business of the *Rajanya*, or *Kshatriya* (military class) to fight the public enemy; of the *Vaisya* (peasant class) to till the ground and follow middle-class trades and crafts; and of the *Sudra* (servant class) to serve the 'twice-born' castes.

The next stage in the development of a class or caste feeling, came with the resolution of the Brahmans to frame certain rules to guard their own ceremonial purity against defilement through unholy food and undesirable marriages. A number of rules were wrought under a sense of responsibility and inspiration. It was the natural desire of the Brahman to transmit his priestly powers to his children and grandchildren. In order to ensure this, he discouraged the practice of Brahmans marrying outside their own ranks. By doing so, the priest set an example which was soon followed by the other classes. From one end of Hindu society to the other, it was forbidden to transmit functions to persons outside the circle. As soon as the Brahman introduced class-barriers to protect himself and his class, the *Kshatriya*

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realized that, as an independent land-owner, he should draw the line between himself and the *Vaisya*, who, in turn, set to work to prevent the *Sudra* from entering the ranks of the trading community. Four distinct classes were thus established.

The *Dharma Sutras* indicate that the four castes (as we know them) were already in being with all the chief rules and practices at least as early as 400 B.C.

The Brahman theocracy from early times was substantial and reliable, as theocracies go. Everything relating to their order was surrounded with a halo of sanctity calculated to impress the lay community with feelings of awe and respect. What other priesthood has ever had the hardihood to proclaim in so many words that 'there are two classes of god: the gods in heaven and the Brahmans on earth'?

The essential rule of the Brahman theocracy seems to have been to strengthen its position by holding a monopoly of all religious knowledge and teaching. It limited the study of the *Vedas* to the first three classes. The *Sudra* and the out-caste members of the Aryan settlement were strictly prohibited from even hearing the *Vedas* read. Like the priesthood of all ancient religions, the Brahmans cherished its spiritual light as too precious to be entrusted to the untaught mind. Hence, Hindu society was obliged to depend on the Brahman for all interpretation of the *Vedas*, which in the process of time, came to be the highest authority for all customs and usages in the Aryan communities. The Brahmans maintained that the *Veda*, constituting '*inspired knowledge*,' existed 'from all time.' They were the final word in all matters connected with the observance of caste laws and customs, or *Dharma* (right conduct). Therefore, every individual, as a member of a tribe, or caste, must follow the dharma peculiar to his tribe, family and caste, as set forth in the *Dharmasastras*.

The propriety of conduct for a person in the Hindu community is determined by his origin. Every individual is

believed to be endowed with some peculiar 'nature' at the time of his birth. By the doctrine of *Karma*, he is born 'into that caste for which his former actions have prepared him. If he is far advanced in spirituality, he is born a Brahman; if he is a step lower, he is born a *Kshatriya*; and so on.' By *Karma* it is possible to account for the various conditions of men, the highest, the middle, and the lowest. It is the preponderance of various qualities that determines the birth of a man as a Brahman or a Sudra. Those who commit sins go into inferior existences or wombs. Those who do good acts pass into superior existences or wombs. Those who lead the ideal life obtain cessation of birth and death. The special principle of *Karma* is that a man's acts and experiences in one form of being determine the next.

To speak of the accident of birth to a Hindu is to betray an utter ignorance, for, according to the doctrine of *Karma*, birth is, of all things, that which does not permit of any accident. The justice of the doctrine is that a man is a Brahman by virtue of his purity, and therefore, is to be respected; another man is an out-caste by reason of sinful acts in a past life and is to be treated accordingly.

This doctrine results in the following general laws of caste :

- (1) Since each man has a separate origin, and is born into that species or sub-species for which his *Karma* fits him, he cannot enter into another class of society. He must remain in the caste into which *Karma* puts him.
- (2) Each caste must preserve its spirituality by observing the laws of purity and pollution, prescribed in the chief rules of caste. No man may marry outside his caste, or eat food cooked or served by or touched by a lower caste than himself.
- (3) Since each caste has one occupation which is considered legitimate, it is the duty of each man to follow that occupation. All other occupations may affect the spirituality and purity of the individual.

All of which means that, since the doctrine of *Karma* endows every man at birth with a well-defined status in life, and each caste with an equally well-defined position in the scale of spirituality by virtue of its purity, it is not

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possible for the clean and the unclean to mix, without affecting the status of each other.

No doubt the theory of purity and pollution originated in the early Aryan settlements when the conquerors settled down among the dark-skinned aborigines. The prejudice against the barbarians led to restrictions in social relations. Severe measures were taken to prevent intercourse between the two communities. The two chief forces here operative were: (1) an unargued repugnance against close relations with a lower grade of people who lived in a rather primitive fashion, with unclean habits and crude manners; and (2) a deliberate desire to keep the Aryan culture unsullied. At first these taboos were sanctioned as a social and natural method of self-protection, and had a community interest. But, as the years followed, the motive of the social sanction became a religious sanction, and was connected with notions of magic and mystery.

From the social taboos developed the philosophy that a caste is pure or impure, the impurity in some instances being determined by the measure of contact with the dark-skinned, un-clean aboriginal tribes. Also, in other instances, the impurity was purely a physical condition, having to do with the nature of the trades and occupations in which some of the castes were engaged. For instance, the class that prepared leather could not have maintained the same degree of physical cleanliness as the carpenter or the weaver. But, in time, under the subtle interpretation of the Brahman, this purity was declared to be something 'not outside.' It is a purity not apparent to the physical eye. It is a mystic, innate purity. The purer the substance, the more easily it may be soiled. For this important reason, the pure castes were admonished to keep away from all contaminating persons and things.

Arranged in terms of this innate purity, the three 'twice-born' castes lead the list, the Sudra being fourth, followed by the numerous out-castes and untouchables. There is no

possibility of ever changing from one grade of purity to another. The man who happens to be born a Brahman is clean. He will remain clean to the end of his days, and all his children will be born clean. But the man who is born a Sudra or an out-caste is unclean, and will continue to be unclean to the end of the chapter. There is no promotion from the unclean to the clean; but there is demotion from the clean to the unclean.

Every member of a caste is required to conserve the 'purity' of his *gens* by eating only with his fellow caste-men, and by eating food that is cooked, served, and handled by 'pure' persons. The food prohibited to the 'twice-born' is given by *Manu* as, mushrooms, salted-pork, barn fowls, garlic, onions, turnips, and carrots. The eating of these involves degradation. The rules relating to food vary in different parts of the country. Theoretically, no caste may touch the food or water touched by other castes. No bowls or plates of a permanent nature may be used, lest contamination should creep into them. Therefore, in some places, food is served on leaves of the banana palm, or in earthen dishes that are destroyed after the meal.

To Hinduism, cleanliness is not *next* to godliness; it is a very part of godliness. When a Hindu takes a morning bath, he does so in order to remove the pollutions which would prevent the due performance of his daily worship. The morning bath is a form of prayer. It must be performed seriously, soberly, and with the proper prayers and meditation.

Since it is possible for a man of a lower caste to pollute a high-caste man, the latter is obliged, after a day's work in places where all men congregate for business and other purposes, to purify himself before retiring to rest.

Rewards and punishments in Hindu society, as elsewhere, fall into two categories: those that are temporal, of this life; and those that are eternal, that belong to the hereafter. The rewards and punishments administered in this life come with the pleasure or displeasure, respectively, of the community

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in which a man lives. In consequence, the individual lives in mortal dread of the disapproval of his caste-fellows.

When a man is found guilty of the violation of a caste law, he is required to undergo the purificatory ceremonies in order to regain his damaged status. These consist usually of the payment of a fine, and the swallowing of a pill, prepared by the proper authorities and composed of the 'five products of the cow.' The pill is supposed to be spiritually as helpful as it is physically disgusting.

But, if a man should refuse to submit to the ruling of the 'Panchayat' (Council of Five), or if he should break one of the rules of his caste which does not admit of expiation, then the full strength of social persecution will burst upon him. Some authoritative Brahman pronounces sentence on him, or a meeting of the members of his caste is called, and he is declared an out-caste. The worst that can befall a man in this life is to be driven out of his caste; for when that happens, he is excluded from all fellowship, instruction, and from all matrimonial alliances. 'Let him wander over the face of the earth,' says *Manu*, 'cut off by his paternal and maternal relations. He should receive neither compassion nor salutation.'

During the past half century, India has undergone changes of an economic and social character. The influence of the West has made itself felt in the improved means of transportation and communication, in extensive systems of irrigation, the spread of western methods in education, and a revolution in industries. Of course it is still true that in thousands of villages the inhabitants obtain their food-supply from the grain and pulses and vegetables grown in the land surrounding them; they still clothe themselves in cotton that is grown locally, spun and woven into cloth by village hands. But, wherever the railways have established a regular service, the Hindu caste-man is able to see some evidence of the displacement of labour. He is confronted by new social problems in the newly-formed industrial centres,

where questions relating to sanitation and health, women labour, working hours and wages, strike at the root of caste differentiation.

The railways, the factories, the post-office system, the new methods of irrigation and water-supply, have gone a great way toward shaking some of the indigenous beliefs of the average caste-man. In fact, it is evident that alert members of the average Hindu communities have already abandoned certain caste habits and customs because they are irksome and inconvenient. For instance, in the matter of ceremonial purity, the average Hindu man of business in cities like Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras, finds it almost impossible to pay strict attention to this very essential detail in caste regulation. An orthodox Brahman would not like to drink water from the hands of a Sudra; but when it comes through a pipe, he has no objection to it, though theoretically it should cause as much pollution, because many low-caste men may be working on the reservoir which gives the water to the Brahman. It is a common occurrence in crowded cities to rub shoulders with other men, especially when hurrying through a narrow street, or when entering a street-car already full of passengers. The Brahman, with all his pride, cannot forgo the convenience of speedy travel, and in order to avail himself of it, must sit in a compartment, cheek by jowl with fellow passengers of other castes.

According to the sacred books of Hinduism, the Brahman alone has the right to teach, and only the 'twice-born' are allowed to hear the sacred literature and receive an education. No woman may be permitted to enter a school of any sort. But, within recent years, what has the caste-man seen? Schools and colleges in all parts of India thrown open to every caste, and the monopoly of teaching taken away from the Brahman. Women are receiving as much attention as the men. What is more remarkable, the despised and long-neglected 'untouchable' out-caste is also receiving an education. 'In all districts,' reports Dr. Farquhar, 'where these

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mass movements have taken place, you may find mission schools in which the teachers are of out-caste descent, while in every class a number of Brahman boys study under them. The whole theory of caste is here proved by ocular demonstration to be radically false.'

Within the ranks of Hinduism there have arisen, from time to time, religious leaders and patriots who have protested against the authority and practices of the Brahmans, and against some of the doctrines of caste. The two Hindu movements that have in late years come into great prominence are the Arya Samaj and the Brahma Samaj. Both preach the equality of all men in the spiritual world. The first Social Reform Association was organized in 1882, and the first National Social Conference was held in the same year. Numerous reform societies and leagues have sprung up since that time, and devote their time to discussing questions of social and political interest.

It seems to be the conviction of the Provincial Social Conferences that the problems connected with Social Reform in India are identical with the problems growing out of the Caste System. To groups like the Servants of India Society, Social Reform means Caste Reform. They realize that the obstructions in the path of National Unity are the ignorance, the indifference, and the caste distinctions that exist among the masses. They realize, too, that the fundamental principles of National Unity include a belief in the equal rights of all men, the social freedom of the individual, and social justice for all. These principles are obviously opposed by the Spirit of Caste. A belief in equal rights in India would necessarily mean that the Sudra will have the same opportunities to improve himself as the Brahman, that men and women will be free to associate with each other, to eat at the same table, to share the blessings of knowledge, and to choose whatever occupation is best suited to their individual talents and qualifications.

While it is true that a number of educated Indians have

consciously awakened to the needs of the country, it must not be forgotten that the greater masses still remain inert, immobile, and unconscious of the difficulties imposed upon them by caste. Their enthusiasm is reserved for the temple. It is reported that nine out of every ten can only make a thumb-mark, and then someone would have to guide that thumb to the right spot! Under such conditions, it is easily seen that a few unscrupulous men with a little education can intimidate and direct the ignorant millions.

Rabindranath Tagore says:

'Now has come the time when India must begin to build and the dead arrangement must gradually give way to living construction, organized growth. . . . If to break up the feudal system and the tyrannical conventionalism of the medieval Church, which had outraged the healthier instincts of humanity, Europe needed the thought impulse of the Renaissance and the fierce struggle of the Reformation, do we not need in a greater degree an overwhelming influx of higher social ideas before a place can be found for true political thinking? Must we not have the greater vision of humanity which will impel us to shake off the fetters that shackle our individual life before we begin to dream of national freedom?'

Any educational scheme that seeks to aid the people of India to insist upon their human rights must be directed against the system that divides the people into factions. An opportunity for education should be offered to all classes, without any distinctions, in an effort to banish illiteracy from among all classes. If India is to succeed in the operation of a national plan, all classes together should work to raise the standard of living in the villages and towns by promoting freer social intercourse between the various communities as well as between Indian and foreign peoples.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the students of reform, Dr. Ghurye among them, have made some practical suggestions which, in the opinion of those who have the welfare of India at heart, may well be adopted as a part of the construction programme toward national reform and progress. It is suggested that the State should discourage caste patriotism. The administration should take steps to

diminish caste loyalty wherever possible, by ceasing to make inquiries about a citizen's caste. 'Neither in official records, nor in applications, nor in statistical returns should the caste of a citizen be recorded. The census need not busy itself with recording the castes of individuals, nor should it present any tables by castes.' Also, it is suggested that progressive Hindu leaders ought to ignore caste. They should create an atmosphere where even partially educated people should be ashamed of boasting of their caste and of decrying the caste of others. More and more must individuals be found to take advantage of the Special Marriage Amendment Act, which makes it possible for persons to marry outside their caste with self-respect and honesty. Finally, Hindu society should be held together not by the restrictions and regulations imposed upon it by a superstitious priesthood, but by the stronger bonds of a common interest in a progressive National Movement.

MONTAGU FRANK MODDER, PH.D.

GIBBON AND THE CHRISTIANS

OF all those whose disbelief in the Christian religion is militant and aggressive, Edward Gibbon¹ is the best company. His elegance of spirit, and the aesthetic pleasure to be derived from reading his incomparable prose, are alone sufficient to award him the title. The qualities he brought to the writing of History brought the historian himself into the history books. Gibbon is even more important to subsequent historians than *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. It is not, however, as a member of Parliament for a rotten borough, nor yet as a man about town in London and Lausanne, whose writings, like those of Mr. Pepys before and Mr. Creevey after him, illuminate an epoch, that he possesses historic significance. His importance for History lies in the number and ubiquity of the spiritual children he begot. For Gibbon is the most important and most influential of militant unbelievers, and the patron saint of those in our own day, and before, who have sought to create the profoundest and most far-reaching of all revolutions, the revolution of the spirit, and used as their chief weapon the effort to discredit and to destroy the Christian religion, and the Church in which it is enshrined.

The mere entertainment of such an enterprise is a part of History, and the partial success which has attended it is not the least among the causes of our contemporary discontents. Before Gibbon the Christian world had never lacked those who repudiated Christianity with scorn, and sought to destroy it. They stretch in time from Celsus to Marlowe and beyond. Yet it is not to any of these that the modern secularist turns for inspiration. It is Gibbon whom they all salute, Huxleys and Powyses, Russells and Menckens, alike. He taught them the bare bones of their

¹ Edward Gibbon was born in April, 1737, and died in January, 1794.

trade, and he held up before them the spiritual conditions under which their weapons could most effectively be wielded. Gibbon is the base of their fleet, from which the destroyers dart out upon their adventures, and to which they return for repose, refreshment and inspiration.

In his own day, Gibbon's attacks on Christianity were extremely effective. This was in part due to the fact that they were strictly not attacks at all. Such energetic inelegance would not have been in character; and the passion of a definite assault could hardly have been in keeping with the self-conscious attitudes of eighteenth-century humanism. What Gibbon did was to select his facts with consummate care, to mingle truth and malice in his statement of them, and then, elaborately suspending judgement, to leave the passage to do its deadly work. A single quotation illustrates the pitch of perfection to which he brought this instrument:

'The names of Seneca, of the elder and younger Pliny, of Tacitus, of Plutarch, of Galen, of the slave Epictetus, and of the emperor Marcus Antonius, adorn the age in which they flourished, and exalt the dignity of human nature. They filled with glory their respective stations, either in active or contemplative life; their excellent understandings were improved by study; philosophy had purified their minds from the prejudices of the popular superstition; and their days were spent in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue. Yet all these sages (it is no less an object of surprise than concern) overlooked or rejected the perfection of the Christian system. Their language or their silence equally discover their contempt for the growing sect which in their time had diffused itself over the Roman Empire. Those among them who condescend to mention the Christians consider them only as obstinate and perverse enthusiasts, who exacted an implicit submission to their mysterious doctrines, without being able to produce a single argument that could engage the attention of men of sense and learning.'¹

That is the note, and it is deadly. To Christian eyes the whole passage is offensive in the extreme, but it brings no charge to which the Christian can reply. He is left with no firm ground from which to launch the thunderbolts of counter attack; and if he unwarily hurls them, he finds, as did Arch-

¹ Gibbon. *Decline and Fall*, I, p. 497. (Everyman Edition.)

deacon Travis and many others, that his lightnings have somehow turned into damp and spluttering squibs. Irony nearly always precludes effective reply; it leaves its victim glowering in helpless fury. But it is a weapon which needs a genius to wield it. No geniuses of the same order have arisen in the secularist camp since Gibbon's day. Of all living anti-Christian writers only one, Bertrand Russell, has at his command the same weapon of delicate irony, and he only on rare occasions. The real closeness of the relationship existing between master and pupil can, however, be illustrated by two passages:

'Arguments like these appear to have been used in the defence of the expiring cause of the Mosaic law; but the industry of our learned divines has abundantly explained the ambiguous conduct of the apostolic teachers. It was proper gradually to unfold the system of the Gospel, and to pronounce with the utmost caution and tenderness a sentence of condemnation so repugnant to the inclinations and prejudices of the believing Jews.'

'The Pelew Islanders believe that the perforation of the nose is necessary for winning eternal bliss. Europeans think that this end is better attained in wetting the head while pronouncing certain words. The belief of the Pelew Islanders is a superstition; the belief of the Europeans is one of the truths of our holy religion.'

Of these passages, one is by Edward Gibbon and the other by Bertrand Russell. But both are cast in the same mould. Both mingle fact and malice in a deadly brew. Both prick believers to fury, but leave them no adequate ground for reply.

The skill of the attack does not lie only, or even chiefly, in the literary style which clothes it. It lies even more in the art of selecting the right charges to bring. Gibbon's technique was to attack religion at its points of weakness. Such points lie always at the circumference and never at the heart of the matter, in the implications and historic developments of a body of doctrine rather than in the doctrine itself. In dealing with Christianity, Gibbon's method was always to attack at those points where a jury of commonsense people would probably concede him the verdict. Having thus implanted the infection at the extremities of

the limbs of the body, he was content to let it alone to spread inwards of its own volition till it reached the heart.

Everyone knows the two points of Christian faith and practice which Gibbon selected as being specially vulnerable. They were, first, the portrait of deity drawn in many parts of the Old Testament, and, second, the religious aberrations which were so plentiful in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, of which Tertullian and Athanasius on the one hand, and St. Simeon Stylites on the other, were types. His attack on the Old Testament is an excellent example of the skilful use he makes of what is after all very obvious fact. It is open to anybody to point out how unlike Christ is the God of so many Old Testament narratives. The contrast was drawn by a host of writers before Gibbon's time, many of whom were devout and orthodox Christians. The same weapon has been as frequently used since then, and is not forgotten to-day. But no writer, whether Christian or Secularist, has ever composed a passage on this theme anything like as effective as this:

'There are some objections against the authority of Moses and the prophets which too readily present themselves to the sceptical mind; though they can only be derived from our ignorance of remote antiquity, and from our incapacity to form an adequate judgement of the Divine economy. These objections were eagerly embraced and as petulantly urged by the vain science of the Gnostics. As those heretics were, for the most part, averse to the pleasures of sense, they morosely arraigned the polygamy of the patriarchs, the gallantries of David, and the seraglio of Solomon. The conquest of the land of Canaan, and the extirpation of the unsuspecting natives, they were at a loss how to reconcile with the common notions of humanity and justice. But when they recollect the sanguinary list of murders, of executions, and of massacres, which stain almost every page of the Jewish annals, they acknowledged that the barbarians of Palestine had exercised as much compassion towards their idolatrous enemies as they had ever shown to their friends or countrymen. Passing from the sectaries to the law itself, they asserted that it was impossible that a religion which consisted only of bloody sacrifices and trifling ceremonies, and whose rewards as well as punishments were all of a carnal and temporal nature, could inspire the love of virtue, or restrain the impetuosity of passion. The Mosaic account of the creation and fall of man was treated with profane derision by the Gnostics,

who would not listen with patience to the repose of the Deity after six days' labour, to the rib of Adam, the garden of Eden, the trees of life and of knowledge, the speaking serpent, the forbidden fruit, and the condemnation pronounced against human kind for the venial offence of their first progenitors. The God of Israel was impiously represented by the Gnostics as a being liable to passion and to error, capricious in his favour, implacable in his resentment, meanly jealous of his superstitious worship, and confining his partial providence to a single people, and to this transitory life. In such a character they could discover none of the features of the wise and omnipotent Father of the universe.¹

Some of Gibbon's admiring modern commentators speak of his turning his back on religion with a shrug of his shoulders and a withering smile. Yet that is precisely what he never did, and what his modern descendants can never do. He was incapable of turning his back on a faith which he detested so heartily, and his interest in Christianity remained passionate to the end. It was an obsession with him—the same kind of obsession as that of Swift with the more earthy facts of human life, or that of his own admired Pascal when he looked upon death. The highly educated Anglican does generally turn his back upon the weirder aberrations of Christian faith with a withering smile, but having once turned it, he does not then perpetually return to the attack. He simply leaves them alone. Gibbon, so far from inspecting the hated corpse of Christianity, once for all discrediting it, and leaving it to rot, cannot keep away from it. His detestation of it is such, that it continually obtrudes itself throughout the *Decline and Fall*, and he is constantly stepping out of his path in order to renew the attack. He is like a talker who is always forcing the unwanted note. The *Autobiography* is even fuller of it than the *Decline and Fall*. 'From my childhood I have been fond of religious disputation.'² A brief sojourn in the authoritative arms of the Roman Catholic Church was powerless to silence this questing and disputatious spirit. Advancing still further 'without armour into the dangerous mazes of controversy,' he was led into

¹ *Op. Cit.* I, pp. 441, 442.

² *Autobiography*, p. 50.

a series of religious disputations with M. Pavilliard, the Calvinist minister of Lausanne, who left on record, in a note to Lord Sheffield, 'the astonishment with which he gazed on Mr. Gibbon standing before him: a little thin figure, with a large head, disputing and urging.' A spiritual pilgrimage which began in the Anglican and passed to the Roman Church, led him eventually, by way of pan-Protestantism, to the position of his own admired Bayle of Rotterdam who claimed, 'I am most truly a Protestant; for I protest indifferently against all systems and sects.' A famous passage in the *Autobiography* in praise of Bayle is in reality a description of the haven where Gibbon's own spirit sought its dwelling place.

'A calm and lofty spectator of the religious tempest, the philosopher of Rotterdam condemned with equal firmness the persecution of Louis XIV, and the republican maxims of the Calvinists; their vain prophesies, and the intolerant bigotry which sometimes vexed his solitary retreat. In reviewing the controversies of the times, he turned against each other the arguments of the disputants; successively wielding the arms of the Catholics and Protestants, he proves that neither the way of authority nor the way of examination can afford the multitude any test of religious truth; and dexterously concludes that custom and education must be the sole grounds of popular belief. The ancient paradox of Plutarch, that atheism is less pernicious than superstition, acquires a ten fold vigour when it is adorned with the colours of his wit, and pointed with the acuteness of his logic.'¹

Gibbon might agree with Plutarch that atheism is less pernicious than superstition, but this never led him to become himself what he so much admired in Bayle, 'the calm and lofty spectator of the religious tempest.' He was never able to put away partisanship, and one reason for his fury with religion is that it had the power to undermine his intellectual pose of sheer elegance. He knew this and resented it. In consequence, the calmly critical bent of his mind was thrown off its delicate poise and balance whenever it came to reflect upon religion. One who was as temperamentally attracted to him as Porson could not but admit this fault in the

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 58.

Decline and Fall. Gibbon's attack on Christianity may have 'proceeded from the purest and most virtuous motives,' but 'we can only blame him for carrying on the attack in an insidious manner and with improper weapons. He often makes when he cannot readily find an occasion to insult our religion which he hates so cordially that he might seem to revenge some personal injury. Such is his eagerness in the cause that he stoops to the most despicable pun or to the most awkward perversion of language for the purpose of turning the Scripture into ribaldry, or of calling Jesus an impostor.'¹

Porson's criticism was acute. Gibbon did seek 'to revenge some personal injury,' and it was the power of the Christian religion to throw him, who did not believe in it, off his psychological balance.

This sense of injury he vented also upon those who ventured to criticize him, treating them as almost guilty of a kind of *lèse majesté*, which is indeed one of the least amiable traits of secular controversialists down the ages. The voice of his clerical critics was 'so clamorous and bitter' that he 'could only rejoice that their hands were disarmed from the powers of persecution.' His critics were so contemptible, that 'a victory over such antagonists was a sufficient humiliation' for himself. He entertained for them 'less anger than contempt.' Archdeacon Travis, with his impassioned defence of the Three Witnesses, was certainly a stupid blunderer, but he was at least morally more attractive than the author of this considered reference to him.

'The brutal insolence of Mr. Travis's challenge can only be excused by the absence of learning, judgement, and humanity: and to that excuse he has the fairest or foulest pretension. The bigoted advocate of popes and monks may be turned over even to the bigots of Oxford; and the wretched Travis still smarts under the lash of the merciless Porson. . . . His strictures are founded in argument, enriched with learning, and enlivened with wit; and his adversary neither deserves nor finds any quarter at his hands. The evidence of the three heavenly witnesses would now be rejected in any court of justice; but prejudice is blind, authority is deaf, and our vulgar bibles will ever be polluted by this spurious text. The more learned ecclesiastics will indeed have the secret satisfaction of reprobating in the closet what they read in the church.'²

¹ G. M. Young. *Gibbon*, p. 124 (Peter Davis).

² *Autobiography*, p. 156.

The effect of the Christian religion upon the mind and character of Gibbon might form the subject of a very illuminating monograph, if only sufficient evidence existed for it to be written in full. But, alas, the evidence is all too slight to do more than make guesses. In boyhood he fell much under the influence of his aunt, Hester Gibbon, who was herself a disciple and a very close friend of William Law. When Gibbon wrote the *Autobiography*, he condemned Law for his 'sallies of religious frenzy,' but praised him as 'a wit and a scholar,' whose arguments on 'topics of less absurdity' than religion were acute and lively. 'Had not his vigorous mind been clouded by enthusiasm, he might be ranked with the most agreeable and ingenious writers of the times.'¹ That is all that Gibbon the man can see in Law: Gibbon the boy saw deeper and truer. He was sufficiently attracted to Christianity to undergo the painful, and, at that time, costly crisis of conversion to Rome; and later, at Lausanne, he was still sufficiently in earnest, to suffer a reconversion to Protestantism at the instruction of M. Pavilliard.

But after that:

'The religious episode was liquidated: after eighteen months of earnest but polite dialectic, with his Swiss tutor, Gibbon decided to suspend his inquiries and receive the sacrament. History had sent him to Rome, and logic, with a growing indifference to the subject matter, sent him far across the opposite frontier. The only permanent consequence of his lapse and recovery was a delight in the refinements of theological debate, and a profound conviction of the worthlessness of religious emotion.'²

Profoundly convinced of its worthlessness he might be, but he was entirely incapable of letting it alone. Whatever discipleship had turned into, it was not indifference. Rather it was a pathological aversion, which abhors an object, but is quite incapable of turning the eyes away from it, and must needs try to spoil it for everyone else. The reason probably is that Gibbon knew well that he had turned away

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 17.

² G. M. Young, *Op. cit.* p. 13.

from the 'many splendoured thing,' and disqualified himself from experiencing the profoundest of all emotions—ecstasy. To resent the continued existence of what we have spurned is a very common trait of human nature—the more so when we realize that we have disqualified ourselves from ecstasy because we are unwilling to pay the price. Gibbon was on any showing a most learned man. Yet, knowing, as he must have known, how ludicrous a travesty and distortion of the facts it was, he was content to dismiss all the Fathers of the Egyptian Desert in the famous chapter on 'The Origin, Progress, and Effects of the Monastic Life' as no more than

Driven by the furies, out from men and lands,
A credulous exile skulking in the dark,
Thinking, poor fool, that Heaven feeds on filth,
Himself to himself more harsh than the outraged gods.
A worse creed this than ever Circe's poison,
Men's bodies then turned bestial, now their souls.¹

Behind such a chapter lurks as much of conscience betrayed as elegance outraged.

The attitude which Gibbon adopted towards the Christian religion was his universal pose in dealing with all sorts and conditions of men and problems. Everything and everybody was in the world with one purpose only—to minister to his elegance. Never man lived who was more completely an incarnate opposition to enthusiasm and crusades. No good cause owed anything to Gibbon. One can search his writings in vain for the least sign of any realization that the cruelties of the world and the sufferings of mankind laid him under any obligation. They lay all around him, but he refused to see them. In this he was wholly different from the other great eighteenth-century rationalist, Voltaire. The same cruelties, the same miseries were present to them both. Voltaire used his splendid gifts to fight them tooth and nail, and in consequence stands not far from the Kingdom of God, for he loved much. Gibbon passed them by with a polite shrug of his shoulders. They were all very regrettable, no doubt,

¹ Rutilius. Tr. Helen Waddell, *The Desert Fathers*, p. 12 (Constable).

but, emphatically, they were not his business. His function in life was to write history, to mock Christianity, and, with his elaborate elegance, to illustrate and to symbolize an epoch. He was, in fact, the least likable of men. Even while one salutes his superb authorship one is driven to repudiate his quite detestable humanity.

Gibbon chose to lead his life on the assumption that enthusiasm and inspiration were alike foreign to the guiding of reason. Both were to him the fruits of bigotry and superstition. His deities were humanity, toleration, and good sense; but to none of them did he pay a sacrificial devotion, for he placed another, elegance, in a position of supreme authority. An elegance of disposition had to be matched by a corresponding elegance of mind. The seething turmoil which the fact of Christianity left lurking in its secret chambers had to be concealed—even to be exorcised. Yet it was always there, gnawing at him like a concealed cancer, an interior weakness always present behind the glittering façade of his elegance, the superiority and eighteenth-century condescension of his spirit. In spite of all the intellectual dapperdom with which he outwardly clothed his mind, he harboured a seething chaos underneath, and so was unable to present to posterity a generosity of spirit and a true balance of judgement to match the tirelessness of his industry and the genius of his prose.

ROGER LLOYD.

THE RELIGION OF THE NATURE OF THINGS

THE title of this article is borrowed from Joseph Cook, who, sixty years ago, in his famous *Boston Monday Lectures*, used it as a key to unlock the door which, it was then widely believed, separated the two domains of religion and science. And if, to-day, even the name of Joseph Cook has largely been forgotten, the really great work he did should be recalled with gratitude. For he did not a little to steady the minds of men at a time when there was general unsettlement. A decade later, Henry Drummond, in his *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, sought to effect a reconciliation between science and religion, by emphasizing the unity of law in both realms. He vitiated his argument, however, in mistaking Calvinistic theology for Christian theology, and so laid himself open to severe criticism both from scientists and Christians. His famous book is now forgotten. But his main thesis, and that of Joseph Cook, was, that the great truths from Christian Faith are not dogmatic tyrannies forced upon people by 'authority'—even the authority of the Bible—they are deeply rooted in the very nature of things. It is this note, I submit, which needs re-emphasis in our time, not simply in the interests of intellectualism, but in the interests of the conscience and of the soul of man.

We are reminded on every hand that our epoch is marked by widespread indifference to organized religion, but with this there is, unquestionably, a remarkable interest in religion generally. Evidence of this is found in the demand for religious services over the Radio, the popularity of certain religious books (which are amongst the 'best sellers'), the growth in the number of Saturday articles bearing on religion and ethics in our national newspapers, the willingness of men to listen, in the open air, to discussions on Christianity, the decline in popular interest of the 'Freethinking' movement, the new note in Science and recent Philosophy, the

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growth of the Group Movement, *and*, most significant of all, the rise of new cults professing to solve the problems of the human soul. *Pari-passu*, there stand indifferentism and interest. Numerous reasons have been advanced to account for this state of things which, by the way, is by no means new. A study of history shows clearly that an ebb and a flow of the tide have marked the entire course of Christianity. And, always, after a far out ebb, there has been a high tide of the Spirit. There is one *fundamental* reason, however, which embraces all the rest.

When everything is traced to its source, that source is discovered to be, either, a suspicion, or a radical denial of the necessity of *authority*. Why are men indifferent to the Church, or to organized religion in any form? They may advance a score of reasons or excuses, but their real reason, whether articulated or not, is, they do not believe that religion has a message which is rooted in the nature of things. It may be a pretty flower for table decoration, but it is artificially grown. It does not spring from natural soil. 'How do you know all this?' they ask. And if the reply be, 'It has been revealed by God,' again it is asked, 'And how do you know that?' Much indifference is due to the fact of this secret unbelief. In the case of the new Cults, the question of one Divine authority becomes that of the authority of every man to make, or to choose his own religion, according to his own fancy. The consequence is that we live in a welter of ideas, without coherence, and like cross currents, rushing against each other and resulting in a dangerous swirl of waters.

How shall we know what is the 'nature of things?' Where shall we begin in our quest? Sir Oliver Lodge tells us we must begin with the Universe itself, of which, to-day, we know more than ever before. At the first hearing we may be inclined to think that this method is wrong, and that the better thing is to begin with ourselves. This is the method of Psychology. We examine the microcosm, and from it

deduce the nature of the macrocosm. 'What is in the part must be in the whole.' Yet if this world be the one world of which we have more exact knowledge than any other, it is also true that it is the Universe which *imposes* itself upon us. We cannot escape from its immensity. The starry heavens and the moral law within ourselves are, as Kant said, related. They are the two impressive things. But for the purpose of this argument, we must begin with the Universe, since our world is its child. The parent was there first, and whatever qualities there are in the parent have been transmitted to the offspring. Yet this, so obvious and elementary a fact, has had scant attention paid to it by modern thinkers.

Sir Oliver Lodge's charge against us is that 'we are planet bound—we have forgotten the Universe.' Is not that the trouble with many modern thinkers? Their vision is too restricted. They see too little. And limiting their vision and thought, they see things out of perspective. The current phraseology of Evolution is largely planetary. H. G. Wells cannot escape it. The evolution of life on *this planet*, the growth of morality on *this planet*, humanity bound to *this planet!* Men have isolated the earth from the rest of the Universe, and found the sources of all things biological and ethical and religious within the limits of a small globe, eight thousand miles in diameter and twenty-five thousand miles in circumference. 'We have forgotten the Universe' *as the Source*. Yet we live by the Universe. A distant star, ninety-three millions of miles away, supplies our means of livelihood. Without the friendly light and heat of the sun we could not live at all. And recently there has been the discovery of the 'cosmic rays' which supply us with far more than we have hitherto imagined. If the *character* of that Universe is barely known to us; and if our instruments tell us nothing of life elsewhere beyond our planet, what of that? It is because we have no instruments available for the purpose—*at present*. The thing to keep in mind is that the Universe was here before our planet was conceived in collision. We are a product

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of something bigger than ourselves. We do not *know* this 'something' is moral, spiritual; that is, we have no scientific knowledge of this. But we have other sure knowledge! We are confident of the mathematical exactness of the Universe. It is an orderly and trustworthy Universe. We can foretell the rising and setting of the sun to a second. We know exactly where to find the stars. We can predict eclipses, and the next appearance of Halley's Comet—now racing along somewhere in space beyond our line of vision. We know surely that the metals in the sun are like the metals we know on earth. All this is *knowledge* of the Universe, and it warranted Jeans in saying that the Universe resembles a thought. 'God is a Mathematician.' And that Universe was there *first*. It is our parent. And children resemble their parents. Men are inclined to forget so simple a truth as this.

This fundamental fact compels a *fundamental deduction*. It is the old and simple one; the *whole must be greater than the part*. Much of the older 'evolution' proceeded upon a contrary principle. It assumed that the earth was self-contained, that the 'resident forces,' as Herbert Spencer termed them, were sufficient to account for the appearance of life on a cooling white hot globe, sufficient to account for the direction of life, which eventually led to the appearance of man; sufficient to account for the development of ethics; sufficient to account for religion itself. The earth was neatly separated, in thought, from the rest of the Universe and treated as an entity complete in itself. And the 'deduction' followed, by no means a logical one, that there was no Mind in this vast Universe superior to the human mind: no Wisdom superior to human wisdom; no Love superior to human love. And for these amazing deductions the authority of Science was claimed! No such support can be claimed to-day.

To admit that the world is a child of the Universe, and that the whole must be greater than the part, does not bring us to religion, but it delivers us from the prison house of a

small planet and introduces us to larger worlds. It destroys the philosophical inferences of the older evolution. It makes Ernst Haeckel and his school look very antiquated. Yet it does not give us religion, although it gives us certain material for it. Religion, however, has never been founded upon 'reasons' of the mind. The 'Apologist' does not enter at the beginning of things: his rôle commences when religion is assailed. The beginning of religion in the race, and in every individual, is in the realm of the intuitions. The former 'Rationalistic' explanations of the origin of religion have been relegated to the lumber heap. It were a waste of time to revive them for the pleasure of combating them. Bergson has triumphed in the world of philosophy. He has vindicated the validity of our instincts. God and the world eternal are no creation of the human imagination, no 'projection' of man's dreams, coloured and enlarged into 'God.' 'The word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart.' 'The law is written in their conscience.' It is the doctrine of the Bible, and the claim of Christianity, that all the great things involved in the Gospel: God, the Atonement, the forgiveness of sins, the completing Divine power for our human life, the promise of eternal life are rooted in the nature of things. They answer completely to our human intuitions, and these intuitions have a super-planetary origin. They belong to the Universe. Their roots run into the Eternal. An instinct, or our intuition, is a *gift*—obviously so, in the *developed* life of man. The most hard-boiled Rationalist admits that, but in accounting for its automatism, he limits his view to this planet. The instincts or intuitions, he says, originally arose within the world; they began in the humblest way and finally became a deposit, a bank of wealth upon which we draw in a natural manner. Of the lower instincts this may be true, but not wholly so. Even with regard to these, the Universe cannot be excluded. The chick hatched out in an incubator, begins at once to peck at the grain provided for it, untaught by any parent.

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The human infant, unreasoning, knows how to obtain its food from the maternal breast. Instinct? Yes! but it is the instinct of *life*, and at once we are in touch with the Universe. All our instincts have their answering counterpart outside ourselves. To the wing of the bird, the envelope of air answers; to the fin of the fish, water; to the eye, light; to the drum of the ear, sound waves. The things to which the instincts turn are all *given*. The organism has but to receive. The question of earthly origins is subsidiary to the larger question of the Universal origins.

When we come to the deeper and richer instincts which are exclusive to human beings, we have to face exactly the same principle. The science of anthropology has made it historically clear that within the nature of man there is an instinct for God, an innate sense of need and dependence, a natural desire to be at peace with the Power that has produced us, an insistent cry for a life richer than any we now possess. The more deeply that anthropology and archaeology between them have penetrated into the past, the more clearly it is seen that primitive man was in possession of the very religious instincts, which in their developed forms are stated intellectually and theologically in Christianity and which form the subject of keen debate. The crude *forms* in which primitive man expressed these instincts must not blind us to the fact of their existence from the beginning of history. And they must be accounted for, not in a narrow, but in a large way. Why have men always had the *idea* of God, the belief in a Power not themselves, and beyond the world? It will not do to say that this was due to fear, or to dreams, or to a belief in ghosts. For if 'fear created the Gods'—as Lucretius said—then it would follow that when knowledge displaced fear, the phantom gods would also disappear. But the contrary is the case. For a moment, Science has the effect of making men think that 'the God hypothesis'—to use the phrase of La Place—is unnecessary.

But only for a moment. When the intoxication induced by the new knowledge has passed, then there is a return to belief in God. We are witnessing this in our time. The instincts re-assert themselves. So is it with the sense of dependence on the Eternal Power, the desire to be at peace with the world and with the Universe; the cry for a stable order superior to that which man has builded; and the wistful longing for the continuity of life beyond the present. We are witnessing in our day two things simultaneously: a general disillusionment, and a widespread awakening of the deeper instincts of man, which for long have lain half asphyxiated. The world is now aware that in seeking with mad quest 'things,' it has sacrificed the highest values of life. The slogan 'Christ or Chaos,' received with incredulity fifteen years ago, is now seen to offer the one challenge and choice for humanity.

Every other explanation of our deepest instincts breaks down, save this, that 'eternity is planted in our nature.' For these instincts are persistent. Time, place, culture or circumstance cannot eradicate them. 'God,' says an eloquent Frenchman, 'is the eternal torment of man.' Our deepest aspirations cannot proceed from our animal nature which has no affinity with them; nor from human society which ever changes: nor from physical nature which seems to be wholly indifferent to us: nor from man's passions to which they are unwelcome: nor from the experience of death which seems to give the lie to all our desires. They can only come from the Universe, from God Himself, who is not the partisan of any planet, but the Universal Life. If we reflect a moment we must see it cannot be otherwise. Within our own globe there is nothing unrelated, nothing private, nothing existing for itself. One law holds the whole atomic system together, and the well-being of any part consists in its vital relation to the whole. But the globe itself is not an unrelated, private thing. It is part of the Universe, and

its well-being depends wholly upon its vital relation to the Universe, by which it really lives. Man, the crown of the world, is not bounded by the world. He also is related to the Universe. Its law binds him. Its moral order commands him. To admit, as we must, that the Universe is one, physically, and that all its parts are inter-related, and then to say that morally it is divided, that there is no morality anywhere to command us save in this world, and even that is of dubious quality subject to the flux of time and to the whims of man, is to talk nonsense. There is an 'ought' which binds us, independently of any human convention. It is the command of the Universe. To disobey it means moral death and retribution. A planet severed from the Universe material is a planet dead. A man severed from human society is but a caricature of a man. MAN severed from the eternal moral order—God—is also dead and turns to corruption.

Specifically, the great Christian truths are rooted in the nature of things. They did not appear *in vacuo*. They came to man in life—in the life of our Lord. In Him the instincts of man had their vindication. In His life we see at work the great intuitions in perfection. The God after whom we aspire, is seen to be the Father; a God at once of Righteousness and Love. In Christ He acts as Father, the works of Christ are the Father's works. Our Lord appeals to our own intuitions and actions in support of His doctrine: 'if ye, being evil, know how to give good things to your children, how much more shall your Father who is in Heaven.' He finds the root of our own morality in the nature of God. Yet He who performs His 'mighty works' as evidence of the Fatherhood of God, is Himself dependent upon the Father for all. 'Of mine own self I can do nothing.' 'The works that I do are the Father's works.' He meets sinners who are paying a heavy price for their breaches of the Divine law, forgives them, and bids them go 'in peace.' As the Good Shepherd, He lays down His life for the sheep. This

He does of Himself, 'no man taketh it from me.' Yet 'this command have I received of My Father.'

The 'Atonement' (that was never our Lord's own word) then, is not a device for persuading an angry Deity to be favourable to His erring children. It is the act of our Lord Himself, in union with the Father, and *it is rooted in the nature of God*. Yet that central idea has never commanded the heart and mind of Christendom. For lack of it the Atonement is too often regarded as an artificial arrangement which fails to convey conviction to men. How great a thing it is when it is seen to have eternal roots. And so with the truth of human survival. Our Lord never argued about it. He had no philosophy of it. To Him the argument was life itself. 'God is not the God of the dead but of the living.' 'Because I live, ye shall live also.' Again, survival is shown to belong to the nature of things. So the Incarnate Lord, speaking and acting both in the name of God and Man, sets His seal upon our instincts, purifies them and completes them by means of His own Revelation.

It is only by perceiving that our religion is thus related to the Eternal, that we can vindicate its finality for time. It is here that Christianity is resplendent and triumphant. Every other religion in the world is either planet-bound, or, if it speaks of the Beyond, it does so in uncertain, or mystical, or poetical language. It never finds its principles in the nature of *the Universe*. In an era when Science has explored the mysteries of the cosmos, when Philosophy is seeking a re-co-ordination of knowledge, when Psychology is making man aware of the larger springs which feed his life, and when the soul of man, disenchanted and sore at the breakdown of all he had dreamed of as secure, is groping after certainty, the Church has an unparalleled opportunity to proclaim the Gospel with a new accent. And if, with this, she obtains a new Baptism of the ever creating Spirit of God, to re-energize her life at its Source, she will be invincible. The Age of Faith will then really come.

FREDERIC C. SPURR.

THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM

DR. FRIEDRICH HEILER, in his notable book, *Prayer: A Study in the History and Psychology of Religion*, says:

'Mysticism is neither a Christian inheritance nor a peculiarity of the Christian religion, although in this religion it has assumed its finest and most beautiful form. It has penetrated into Christianity . . . from the outside, from the syncretist mystery religions, later religious philosophy, and especially Neoplatonism. The Gnostics and the Alexandrians, but above all Augustine and Areopagite, were the gates by which it entered.'¹

This is becoming a common charge, made from many quarters, that mysticism came into the Christian religion from the *outside*. Such a view seems wilfully blind to certain elements *within* the Church from the very start. We emphasize this, because, if in our investigations we found that in the preparation for the Gospel, in the Gospel itself, and in the Church that sprang from the Gospel, there were no clear traces of mystical teaching and experience, we should seriously doubt whether we had any right to speak of *Christian* mysticism at all. Here, in these early stages, it is true, we have it only in its incipient form; but we do claim it contains the promise and potency of the richer and fuller development. These facts have been made transparently clear by scholarly investigators like Miss Evelyn Underhill, Dr. Inge, and Dr. Rufus Jones.

Dr. Heiler, and others who think like him, are convinced, however, that Christian mysticism, in the form it came to assume, cannot claim a clear descent from the Gospel; they affirm that it is really an offspring of the later Greco-Roman world, and that its true home was Alexandria. What makes such an assertion possible?

It will be appreciated that when Christianity adventured forth into that wide and strange world it ran tremendous risks. Was it to be expected that in all places it would

¹ p. 170.

retain its pristine simplicity? It was to encounter vastly different races, with dissimilar forms of thought, speech, conduct, and worship: how would it stand the shock? We can see what happened at Alexandria, though we must always remember that similar forces were at work in many parts of the Mediterranean world.

Alexandria was a great and splendid city. After the decline of Athens it had become the intellectual capital of the ancient world. It stood at the junction of East and West. Its busy streets were crowded with the traders and scholars of all nations. Whilst it was proud of its commerce, its chief interest was culture—often allied to deep spiritual yearnings. Rival systems of philosophy and religion sprang up like mushrooms, and passed as quickly away. Two of the more enduring claim our attention.

Gnosticism was syncretistic: it strove to combine what it regarded as the best elements in Greek philosophy, Hebrew religion, Oriental speculation, and Christianity; thus equipped, it had tried to give a satisfying account of the Unity behind phenomena, and to explain the relationship between eternity and time, spirit and matter, good and evil, Christ (as an emanation from the Divine) and man. Sometimes it ran to absurd excesses.

Neoplatonism was of nobler mould. As its name indicates, it claimed to base itself on the doctrines of Plato and his School. Many of its aims were the same as Gnosticism, and it was influenced not a little by that movement; but it worked on a higher intellectual plane, and in a clearer-spiritual atmosphere. Of special interest to us, it believed that man possessed a faculty, by the exercise of which he could pass behind the phenomenal world and gain intuitive knowledge of the Absolute; under certain rare conditions this would lead to ecstasy. In harmony with this belief, the Neoplatonists evolved a technique—‘a ladder of ascent’—by which the soul could be trained to climb to God. Perhaps it will now be clear why someone has said that ‘Neo-

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platonism served as a nurse of Christian mysticism.¹ I would underline the word nurse; Neoplatonism was not the parent.

This brings us to two of the most significant figures in the history of Christian mysticism, both of whom underwent preparation for their life's work in the schools of Neoplatonism: Augustine, and the Areopagite.

Augustine (A.D. 354-430) is one of the most commanding personalities of the past. He has been called the Father of Christian theology; but he was so successful a pioneer in a number of important spheres that he became a parent of many things. What he learned from Neoplatonism—and what subsequently he had to unlearn—he tells with poignant frankness in his *Confessions*: that peerless story of a soul's search for God; a search that ended in the discovery of Christ. Salvation through Christ was the supreme factor in Augustine's conversion; it was equally supreme in his adaptions of Neoplatonic teaching to Christian needs. We see this in the way he lifted 'the ladder of ascent' out of the school of philosophy, and set it in the Temple of Christ, where it became 'The Scale of Perfection.'¹ Augustine Christianized Neoplatonism; which is a different thing from Neoplatonizing Christianity. Hence, 'St. Augustine's Christianity, when at last he attained it, was the complete and vital Christian mysticism of Paul.'²

Although Dionysius the Areopagite (c. A.D. 500) holds a unique place in the development of Christian mysticism, he is an enigma. 'The true name of this author is entirely unknown. He was probably a monk, possibly a bishop, certainly an ecclesiastic of some sort; his home is believed to have been Syria.'³ He must have been a man of immense intellectual force. Had he not been preceded by others—notably Plotinus—his bold flights into the metaphysical stratosphere would have filled us with wonder.

¹ See *Confessions*, Book VII, chap. 17, Bigg's edition.

² *The Mystic Way*, Evelyn Underhill, p. 299.

³ *Dionysius the Areopagite*, C. E. Rolt, p. 1.

As it is, when we try to follow him, he makes us dizzy. 'The basis of his teaching is the super-essential Godhead.'¹ This Godhead is 'beyond' everything: beyond spirit, matter, and form; beyond thought, imagination, and feeling; beyond everything we can conceive: He is the super-transcendent Deity, the Hidden Dark. Yet there is a twofold mode of approach. The *affirmative way* is 'progression downwards,' through ranks of celestial beings, created things, and the nature of man; because all these in some way participate in the Super-Essence, they give partial manifestations of Him. We have to make the most we can of these 'reflections': 'holy crumbs which fall from the Divine table.' The *negative way*, most favoured by Dionysius, is 'progression upwards,' and is really a process of self-annihilation, stripping the mind of all its contents and processes: 'like as men who, carving a statue out of marble, remove all the impediments that hinder the clear perception of the latent image, and by this mere removal display the hidden statue itself in its hidden beauty,' so we strip off all qualities in order that 'we may begin to see that super-essential Darkness which is hidden by all the light that is in existent things.'² The reward is *union* with the super-essential Ray of divine darkness; and the fruit of this union is ecstasy: the Beatific Vision.

However much we may feel—and perhaps deplore—the difference between this heady speculation and the simplicity of the primitive Gospel, there is one thing we must admire: that is, this man's amazing skill in his effort to transfer the whole intellectual outfit of Neoplatonism—its terminology, metaphysics, and psychological methods—to the Christian religion to help it in its task of winning the world for Christ, especially the Greco-Roman world of that age. For that was the object of this remarkable monk-philosopher: to exalt Christ. Dionysius completed the work of Augustine; and

¹ *Dionysius the Areopagite*, C. E. Rolt, p. 4.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 194–5.

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both followed Paul's example, in relation to the Mosaic Law: to make of Greek philosophy a 'schoolmaster' to bring the world to Christ.

In order to get a clear mental picture of what happened to Christian mysticism in Egypt, it is necessary to glance at another movement which sprang up in that land: I refer to Monasticism. As early as the second century, not a few Christians, driven out by persecution, were living in dens and caves of the desert; but others retired to these solitudes voluntarily. They wanted to avoid the perils of the world. On the one hand, there were pleasures, luxuries, and dissipations which, through their appeal to the senses, constantly enticed them to moral ruin; on the other, there was the wild and reckless spirit of speculation which could quickly lead to intellectual chaos, and ultimately to unbelief. Eager souls thought it safer to flee from the world to some isolated place where, without temptation or distraction, they could give themselves to the cultivation of the spiritual life. These were the hermits or anchorites. As their fame for sanctity spread they soon had many imitators. One of the most famous was Anthony (A.D. 251-356). He lived in absolute solitude, and practised the most rigorous asceticism; to read of his austeries is painful. His favourite disciple, Macarius, took a far-reaching step. As the number of hermits rapidly increased, he determined to organize them into 'lauras,' or communities. This was the origin of Christian monasticism.

Under Macarius the monastic life was systematized. All who entered a community had to take a triple vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience; they had to promise to devote themselves exclusively to spiritual exercises like reading, prayer, meditation, and contemplation; and they had to observe the rules of discipline—based upon a thorough knowledge of psychological laws—to ensure the soul's steady advance to its goal: 'the beauty of holiness.' By this means it was expected that the initiates' growth in sanctity would

follow an orderly and well-defined pathway—‘the scale of perfection’: first purgation, the cleansing from sin; next illumination, the coming of spiritual graces; and then union, the soul’s conscious fellowship with the Divine, leading on to ecstasy. Corresponding to these three stages the brethren were classified as beginners, proficients, and perfects. No one would deny that the monastics owed something to Oriental ideas and customs, and to Neoplatonic teaching and practice; but they claimed the authority of the New Testament writers for their whole mode of life, and more especially the teaching of our Lord upon self-surrender, self-denial, and self-control.

From this brief account of Egypt’s great twin movements, Neoplatonism and Monasticism, we may be better able to judge her contribution to the Church’s mystical theology. Each of these movements had much in common, and each easily coalesced with the other. It might be no mis-statement to say that Monasticism was, in part, the practical application of Neoplatonic principles. From this double source arose the system which entered into the Christian cloister, and through that institution exercised, for a thousand years, an enormous influence upon the Church’s life, teaching, and practice. We may regret this. We may say too big a price was paid. It is not difficult to set down a list of debit items. Those mostly alleged are its drastic departure from the simplicity of the early Church, its substitution of cold abstractions like the Absolute for the living actuality of the Heavenly Father, its emphasis upon the *negative way*, its rigorous asceticism, its encouragement of psycho-physical phenomena, and its elevation of celibacy. On the other hand, we must not forget the credit side of the account: its provision of a metaphysical background for the soul’s questions and questings, its rich and flexible vocabulary, its psychological charts and drill, its services to scholarship—particularly literature, medicine, and the sciences, its ever-ready help for the poor, the sick, and the neglected, its

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production of heroic types of personality, and most of all, its illustrious lines of saints whose worth and work for the Church and the world are beyond compute.

The point I wish to stress, however, is that in these seemingly risky and gigantic experiments the Christian religion was not sacrificing itself to powerful and competitive forces; rather it was subduing them to its own purposes. By ways like these it sought to fulfil its mission, 'Go ye therefore and make *disciples* of all nations.' When it encountered apparently intractable material it did not quit the field; with incredible spirit it attacked the alien mass, and either mastered or destroyed it. There may be more in this than meets the eye. Although it happened centuries ago, only in our day are some of the fruits of victory being enjoyed. People of the East are learning with a shock of surprise that the Christian Faith offers them deeper and more lasting satisfactions than their own ancient beliefs. Mohammedans, Buddhists, Brahmins, and Hindus are making glad discoveries. The Sadhu Sundar Singh is a portent. 'The mystic East' is finding it easy to come to Christ because of those doors opened in Egypt long ago. As a matter of fact, what we have been watching is only part of a much larger effort. In other spheres the Church had to show the same selective skill. Her policy, architecture, and theological conceptions, all owe something to Greek and Roman models. In doing this the Church did not lose her identity. Instead, she showed she was alive: a vital organism, with marvellous powers of selection, adaptation, and expansion, thrusting out into ever-widening circles of human thought, activity, and service. The conflict we have traced in Egypt was a section of this triumphant movement. That is why we claim it as a victory for the Church's Founder. Christian mysticism sprang from the heart of Christ. That was the gateway through which it emerged into history.

But if there is still a lingering doubt as to the origin of Christian mysticism, it is only necessary to mention a further

important fact in order to dispel it. There is an influential school of investigators who emphasize the claim that there is another type of mysticism entirely independent of Neoplatonic influence to which they give the name of 'Western Mysticism.' They say that it existed from the beginning of Christian experience, and they trace it through certain of the hermits represented in the writings of Cassian, and later through Augustine, Gregory, and Bernard. Dom Butler wrote his book, *Western Mysticism*, in proof of this thesis. He refers to it as 'a type of mysticism with clearly marked characteristics that differentiate it from other types of mysticism, earlier and later.' Then he gives an excellent summary of it in the following passage:

'It may be described as pre-Dionysian, pre-scholastic, non-philosophical; unaccompanied by psycho-physical concomitants, whether rapture or trance, or any quasi-hypnotic symptoms; without imaginative visions, auditions, or revelations; and without thought of the Devil. It is a mysticism purely and solely religious, objective, and empirical; being merely, on the practical side, the endeavour of the soul to mount to God in prayer and seek union with Him and surrender itself wholly to His love; and on the theoretical side, just the endeavour to describe the first-hand experiences of the personal relations between the soul and God in contemplation and union. And it is a mysticism far removed from any quietism: though images and phantasmata and sense perceptions are shut out from the imagination and memory, and the processes of reasoning silenced, and the faculties of the mind quieted, and words cease and language fails; all this produces not a blank, but makes room for the soul itself to actuate and energize with a highly wrought activity and intense concentration on God.'¹

This careful writer adds that while he thinks the above description applies substantively to Augustine's mysticism, as well as to Gregory's and Bernard's, he is willing to admit that Augustine's ideas and language are, in some measure, coloured by Neoplatonism. He claims, however, that Cassian's teaching is quite identical with Gregory's and Bernard's.

It was this type that held sway in many Christian communities of the West from the sixth to the twelfth centuries.

¹ *Western Mysticism*, Dom Butler pp. 187-8. Constable & Co.

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After that the Dionysian variety began to prevail. This was given considerable help by the use St. Thomas Aquinas made of its teachings in his Scholasticism. But its appeal was widened much more by the lives and writings of famous mystics like the Germans, Eckhart, Tauler, and Suso; the Fleming, Ruysbroek; and the Spaniards, St. Teresa, and St. John of the Cross. These, with their circles, gave the monk-philosopher's message an all-pervading influence in Europe. But the Western type was not crushed out. In many places it struck deep roots. This was true of England. Here it found congenial soil. It suited our temperament. The only one of our mystics who showed any preference for Dionysius was the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, and he drank deeply at that fountain; but he successfully avoided extravagance both of language and ideas. In our other mystics there are no more than echoes of this teaching.

T. W. COLEMAN.

JOHN KEATS AS A TEACHER OF RELIGION

THE intellectual value of the poems and letters of Keats has been asserted by many competent critics, from Matthew Arnold to M. R. Ridley, the present editor of the *Temple Shakespeare*. Those who read the words of the poet which are quoted in this article will see for themselves some of the foundations upon which this praise is given. This generation lives in a difficult age, it is a time worth living in, a time to live bravely. Many of the problems confronting men to-day presented themselves vividly to Keats; his thought and comment upon them repay study. To Methodists there is a link in the fact that the subject of this article was born, and as a boy lived, in the immediate neighbourhood of Wesley's Chapel, City Road.

At the end of the eighteenth century, on a site now occupied by 85 Moorgate, stood a posting house, the Swan and Hoop. Its proprietor, John Jennings, had an only child, Fanny. From the West of England a young man, John Keats, came to this house as an ostler. Handsome, energetic, and courteous, he soon became head ostler and before long was engaged to his master's daughter. They were married in St. George's, Hanover Square. To them four sons and a daughter were born. The eldest of these was John, the Poet. He came into the world on October 29, 1795, and was baptized in St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, by the vicar, Dr. Conybeare. As a boy John was lively, entering with a zest into all things and inclined to fighting with his fists. To his mother he was devoted; when she was ill he read to her and would allow no one else to give her medicine. When she slept in the afternoon he secured an old sword and stood guard that no one should disturb her. After a time he was sent to a boarding school at Enfield kept by the Rev. John Clarke. He was in a form taught by the

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headmaster's son, Cowden Clarke, with whom he maintained a friendship throughout life. Clarke taught him well and by the loan of books, and later by introduction to men, helped him greatly. Keats proved an ardent worker, for two years in succession he gained the silver medal awarded to the boy who did the most voluntary work. Cowden Clarke tells us: 'He was at work before the first school hour began, and that was at seven o'clock; almost all the intervening times of recreation were so devoted; and during the afternoon holidays, when all were at play, he would be in the school almost the only one at his Latin or French translation; and so unconscious and regardless was he of the consequences of so close and persevering an application that he would never have taken the necessary exercise had he not been sometimes driven out for the purpose by one of the masters.' On April 15, 1804, his father had been visiting him at this school and afterwards dined at Southgate; at 1 a.m. the next morning he was approaching his home.

In those days City Road was cobbled and in the forecourt of Wesley's Chapel stood a well from which the neighbourhood drew water. On this slippery piece of road the horse shied and threw Keats' father head foremost to the ground, he sustained injuries from which he died within a few hours. The following year John Jennings also died leaving a sum of £13,000 in trust for his grandchildren. Mrs. Jennings took the family to live with her at Enfield. Here on February 10, 1810, Keats' mother died of consumption. John nursed her with devoted care to the last; after her death he suffered bitterly and would hide himself for hours under the master's desk. The following year his grandmother died leaving the money and the care of Keats' only sister Fanny to a tea merchant in the City, Richard Abbey. He proved a most unsympathetic guardian, very hard in money matters and keeping the little sister away from her brothers as much as he could. One of Keats' brothers died in infancy, another, George, emigrated to the United States in 1818, and at the

end of that year the third brother, Tom, died of consumption. John cared for him and nursed him to the end. We thus see that the cup of sorrow was ever present in Keats' life and the relations who might have guided and helped him were all removed in his early years.

John Keats determined to become a doctor. In October, 1811, he was pupiled to the school doctor and in October, 1815, he was entered as a student at Guy's Hospital. His first rooms here were in Dean Street, now beneath the arches of London Bridge station. In a letter to Cowden Clarke Keats says: 'Although the Borough is a beastly place in dirt, turnings and windings, yet No. 8 Dean St., is not difficult to find; and if you would run the gauntlet over London Bridge and take the first turning to the right, and, moreover, knock at my door, which is nearly opposite a meeting, you would do me a charity, which, as St. Paul saith, is the father of all virtues.' Keats was a lover of the country and in his first volume of verse, published just after he qualified as a doctor, we find these lines:

No one who once the glorious sun has seen,
And all the clouds, and felt his bosom clean,
For his great Maker's presence, but must know
What 'tis I mean, and feel his being glow.

Like many another the waves of doubt sometimes overwhelmed Keats. Deep expression of this mood is to be found in a sonnet which he wrote while on Ben Nevis during a Scottish walking tour:

Read me a lesson, Muse, and speak it loud
Upon the top of Nevis, blind in mist!
I look into the chasms, and a shroud
Vaporous doth hide them—just so much I wist
Mankind do know of hell; I look o'erhead,
And there is sullen mist—even so much
Mankind can tell of heaven; mist is spread
Before the earth, beneath me—even such,
Even so vague is man's sight of himself!
Here are the craggy stones beneath my feet—

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Thus much I know that, a poor witless elf,
I tread on them—that all my eye doth meet
Is mist and crag, not only on this height,
But in the world of thought and mental might!

This was written when he had greatly over-exerted himself by walking long distances in inclement weather. Many know such a feeling. In the following letter Keats is seen in a more constructive mood. He lived in a circle in which he met Wordsworth, Charles Lamb and others, and had been studying Wordsworth's 'Lines written above Tintern Abbey.' Writing from Teignmouth on May 3, 1818, he says: 'An extensive knowledge is needful to thinking people—it takes away the heat and fever; and helps, by widening speculation, to ease the Burden of the Mystery; a thing I begin to understand a little, and which weighed upon you in the most gloomy and true sentence in your Letter. The difference of high Sensations with and without knowledge appears to me this: in the latter case we are falling continually ten thousand fathoms deep and being blown up again without wings and with all the horror of a bare shouldered creature—in the former case, our shoulders are fledged, and we go through the same air and space without fear. . . . I will put down a simile of human life as far as I now perceive it; that is, to the point to which I say we both have arrived at. Well—I compare human life to a large Mansion of Many Apartments, two of which I can only describe, the doors of the rest being as yet shut upon me. The first we step into we call the infant or thoughtless Chamber, in which we remain as long as we do not think. We remain there a long while, and notwithstanding the doors of the second Chamber remain wide open, showing a bright appearance, we care not to hasten to it, but are at length imperceptibly impelled by the awakening of the thinking principle within us—we no sooner get into the second Chamber, which I shall call the Chamber of Maiden Thought, than we become intoxicated with the light and the atmosphere, we see nothing but

pleasant wonders, and think of delaying there for ever in delight. However, among the effects this breathing is father of that tremendous one of sharpening one's vision into the heart and nature of Man—of convincing one's nerves that the world is full of Misery and Heartbreak, Pain, Sickness and Oppression—whereby this Chamber of Maiden Thought becomes gradually darken'd and at the same time on all sides of it many doors are set open—but all dark—all leading to dark passages. We see not the balance of good and evil. We are in a mist. We are now in that state—We feel the "burden of the Mystery!" To this point was Wordsworth come, as far as I conceive when he wrote "Tintern Abbey" and it seems to me that his Genius is explorative of those dark passages.'

Keats' conception of genius is an interesting thought; consider Wordsworth as the illustration of the man of genius and Napoleon or Mussolini as the example of the man of power. 'In passing however I must say of one thing that has pressed upon me lately and increased my humility and capability of submission and that is this truth—Men of Genius are great as certain ethereal chemicals operating a mass of neutral intellect—but they have not any individuality, any determined Character—I would call the top and head of those who have a proper self Men of Power.'

Keats looking at the problem as a Poet wrote:

'Are there not thousands in the world' said I,
 'Who love their fellows even to the death,
 Who feel the giant agony of the world,
 And more, like slaves to poor humanity,
 Labour for mortal good? I sure should see
 Other men here, but I am here alone.'

He saw that there was a deeper and fuller meaning in life and in 'Sleep and Poetry' he wrote:

And can I ever bid these joys farewell?
 Yes, I must pass them for a nobler life,
 Where I may find the agonies, the strife
 Of human hearts.

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Again, in 'Hyperion,' he says:

'None can usurp this height' returned that shade
'But those to whom the miseries of the world
Are misery, and will not let them rest.'

And so he soon turned to the deeper philosophy of life.

In that which becks
Our ready minds to fellowship divine
A fellowship with essence, till we shine
Full Alchemised and free of space. Behold
The clear religion of heaven.—'Endymion.'

In another part of the same poem he speaks of the effects of love and friendship in the following lines:

But there are
Richer entanglements, enthralments far
More self-destroying, leading, by degrees,
To the chief intensity, the crown of these
Is made of love and friendship, and sits high
Upon the forehead of humanity.
All its more ponderous and bulky worth
Is friendship, whence there ever issues forth
A steady splendour; but at the tip-top
There hangs by unseen film, an orb'd drop
Of light, and that is love: its influence
Thrown in our eyes, genders a novel sense,
At which we start and fret; till the end,
Melting into its radiance we blend,
Mingle, and so we become a part of it,
Nor with aught else can our souls interknit
So wingedly: when we combine therewith
Life's self is nourished by its proper pith.

In a famous journal letter, written to his brother in America in 1819, Keats develops his views on Religion; he says: 'I have no doubt that thousands of people never heard of have had hearts completely disinterested: I can remember but two, Socrates and Jesus—their Histories evince it. What I heard a little time ago, Taylor observe with respect to Socrates, may be said of Jesus—That he was so great a man that though he transmitted no writing of his own to posterity, we have his mind and sayings and his greatness handed to us by others. It is to be lamented that the history of the latter was written and revised by men interested

in the pious frauds of Religion. Yet through all this I see his splendour.' And further he says: 'The most interesting question that can come before us is, How far by the persevering endeavours of a seldom appearing Socrates Mankind may be made happy—I can imagine such happiness carried to an extreme—but what must it end in?—Death—and who could in such a case bear with death—the whole troubles of life which are now frittered away in a series of years, would then be accumulated for the last days of a being who instead of hailing its approach would leave this world as Adam and Eve left Paradise. But in truth I do not at all believe in this sort of perfectibility—the nature of the world will not admit of it—the inhabitants of the world will correspond to itself. Let the fish philosophize the ice away from the Rivers in winter time and they shall be at continual play in the tepid delight of summer. Look at the Poles and at the Sands of Africa, Whirlpools and volcanoes. Let men exterminate them and I will say that they may arrive at earthly Happiness. The point at which Man may arrive is as far as the parallel state in inanimate nature and no further. For instance, suppose a rose to have sensation, it blooms on a beautiful morning, it enjoys itself—but there comes a cold wind, a hot sun—it cannot escape it, it cannot destroy its annoyances—they are as native to the world as itself—no more can man be happy in spite, the world elements will prey upon his nature. The common cognomen of this world among the misguided and superstitious is a "vale of tears" from which we are to be redeemed by a certain arbitrary interposition of God and taken to Heaven. What a little, circumscribed, straightened notion! Call the world if you please "The vale of Soul-making." Then you will find out the use of the world (I am speaking now in the highest terms for human nature admitting it to be immortal which I will here take for granted for the purpose of showing a thought which has struck me concerning it) I say "Soul making"—soul as distinguished from an

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Intelligence. There may be intelligences or sparks of the divinity in millions—but they are not Souls till they acquire identities, till each one is personally itself. Intelligences are atoms of perception—they know and they see and they are pure, in short they are God. How then are Souls to be made? How then are these sparks which are God to have identity given them—so as ever to possess a bliss peculiar to each one's individual existence? This point I sincerely wish to consider because I think it is a grander system of salvation.'

While he was living in Hampstead his neighbours were a widow lady, Mrs. Brawne, and her daughters, with one of whom Keats fell desperately in love. Two of his lines describe her well:

Light feet, dark violet eyes, and parted hair;
Soft dimpled hands, white neck, and creamy breast.

Fanny Brawne has been variously estimated by those who knew her, there is no reason to doubt that she loved him truly and cared for him well. She was, however, young and beautiful and of a lively temperament. Keats was a jealous lover and both physically—on account of his illness—and because of his lack of training he was unable to share in the dances and parties which she enjoyed; anxiety about her undoubtedly affected his health. In 1818 as the result of an arduous walking tour in the Lake District and in Scotland, during which he experienced severe exposure to the weather, Keats developed tuberculosis from which he died three years later. At the end of 1820, in the hope that a winter in a milder climate might save his life, he went to Italy and spent his last days there. His friend Severn who watched over him with devoted care related this story of Keats' last hours in Rome. 'On finding me inflexible in my purpose of remaining with him he became calm and tranquilly said that he was sure why I held up so patiently was owing to my Christian faith—that he now felt convinced how much every human being required the support of religion that he might die decently—"Now, my dear Severn, I am sure if

you would get some of the works of Jeremy Taylor to read to me, I might become a Christian and leave this World in peace"—I read some passages to him, and prayed with him, and I could tell by the grasp of his dear hand that his mind was reviving—At last I had the consolation of finding him calm, trusting, and more prepared for his end than I was.'

So at the early age of twenty-six died a poet of great lyrical beauty and of deep philosophic thought.

William Watson, the poet, wrote of Alfred Tennyson's death thus:

He with diviner silence dwells instead,
And no earthly sea with transient roar,
Unto no earthly airs, he trims his sail,
But far beyond our vision and our hail
Is heard for ever and is seen no more.

In a similar mood Keats wrote lines about the Poets of old which apply to himself:

Thus ye live on high and then
On the earth ye live again;
And the Souls ye left behind you
Teach us, here, the way to find you,
Where your other souls are joying,
Never slumber'd, never cloying.
Here, your earth-born souls still speak
To mortals, of their little week;
Of their sorrows and delights;
Of their passions and their spites;
Of their glory and their shame;
What doth strengthen and what maim.
Thus ye teach us, every day,
Wisdom, though fled far away.

F. N. DOUBLEDAY.

Editorial Comments

YEOMEN AND CRISIS.

Whatever may be the reaction of individuals to the crisis which ended in the abdication of His Majesty King Edward VIII, there can be no doubt about the spirit of the nation as a whole. In days of most profound anxiety the ordinary man has shown a balanced loyalty to the King and to the Constitution.

Not even the nation is the keeper of the King's conscience and private judgement is best withheld. There are many things for which the British people must remember their late monarch with gratitude. In all things they will follow him with their prayers. The price of kingship is inevitable and it must not be forgotten that, in all the turmoil of the crisis, the Constitution has remained inviolate. This will go down to history as a tribute to the personality of Edward VIII, his Cabinet and Parliament, and not least to the stability of the mass of the nation.

There is a passage in Holinshed's *Chronicle* which says: 'Yeomen are those which by our laws are called Legales Homines, free men born English. . . . The word signifieth a settled or staid man. . . . The kings of England in foughten battles were wont to remain among them—the prince thereby shewing where his chief strength did consist.'

The reticence of the past few months has proved to the world that there are 'settled and staid men' still. When events compelled an open expression of opinion it was with dignity and discretion as well as with sympathetic devotion that the silence was broken. In the admirable phrase of the *Spectator* one could not 'retain any doubts of the advantage of elevating discussion of the King's affairs, if discussion there must be, from the chatter of railway-carriages and drawing-rooms and clubs to the responsible columns of serious organs of opinion.'

Whilst the people of England remain true to the definition of Holinshed, 'settled and staid' men, the King of England will never lack sympathetic and respectful loyalty in the hour of his need. No honourable vocation is fulfilled without its moments of sacrifice, and there are times when a people's devotion is best expressed in the silence of understanding and in prayer. Even a King must choose his way alone, save for God.

This is true of the monarch who steps down from a throne, and of him who must so suddenly ascend.

England has not passed this way before, but the God of our fathers is with us yet, and to Him we commend the new king and the new subject, for like ourselves they are His children.

THE LATE SIR EDWIN DELLER.

Everyone with a sense of educational values has watched the expansion of the University of London with sympathetic interest.

The development of its various colleges has transformed it from an examining body for the convenience of external students to a great cultural community. For many years the centralization of its work was a dream, and to no one was the dream more dear than to the late Principal, Sir Edwin Deller. His career had been bound up with the new buildings, which are to realize the ideal so long cherished.

It was with the deepest sorrow that we heard of the tragedy which ended in his death. He had watched, with keen solicitude, the details of construction, and had eagerly anticipated the completion of the great scheme. Long ago men demanded the gift of a human sacrifice when they laid the foundations of their temples. The late Principal had willingly offered years of devoted service to the development of the University which he loved so well. The sacrifice was made suddenly and tragically complete.

When the new buildings are finished they will be, in some measure, his monument, but those who knew him will keep his memory enshrined in their hearts. One could not imagine him reduced to inactivity, and the present generation of members of the University will rejoice that his work and influence will endure, not only in stone but in the minds of students whom he enriched by his unobtrusive fidelity.

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GROUP MOVEMENTS.

The attitude of Professor Karl Barth to Group Movements will, doubtless, arouse interest in those who read the article he has so kindly permitted us to publish. It presents a position with which many may not agree but which demands serious consideration. In the next number of the *London Quarterly and Holborn Review* we hope to include a contribution which will treat the matter from a different angle. The writer, a distinguished leader of English Christianity, will describe the position of Group Movements in England with special reference to their relationship to the Church.

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A VICTORIAN PASSING.

Much has been written about the disastrous fire which consumed the Crystal Palace, and robbed England of what was, in many ways, an epitome of the Victorian Age. Strangely enough most accounts have confined themselves to the story of the building as it was erected in Sydenham. Its Victorian beginning lies a little further back, in the Great Exhibition of 1851.

The proposal of the Prince Consort to call all the civilized world to bring examples of its natural wealth, its industrial activities and its artistic expression to a common centre in London was an effort towards universal peace. The dream of Prince Albert met with most vigorous opposition and seemed doomed to failure. It was by a romantic sequence of incidents that the Exhibition became a possibility.

One of the chief objections to his proposal was based on the difficulty of housing the exhibits. Strong protests were made against

the 'desecration' of Hyde Park and the destruction of its ancient trees.

Some time before, Sir Robert Schomburgk had discovered a beautiful new flower in the swamps of South America. By a thoughtful courtesy he had called it *Victoria Regia* in honour of the Queen. All the specimens sent to England died. It seemed as though it would be impossible to cultivate it in our climate. The head gardener of the Duke of Devonshire received a further supply and experimented on them at Chatsworth. After considering the natural environment in which it had flourished in South America, Joseph Paxton devised a hot-house which provided heat, moisture and running water under glass.

When the Prince Consort and his Commission were on the eve of abandoning their scheme the gardener appeared with plans and models of a great glass house which could enclose the threatened trees and accommodate the crowds and the exhibits. So the first Crystal Palace, 1851 feet in length, was built in Hyde Park. The Exhibition—the 'official apotheosis of science applied to industry'—was opened joyously whilst thirty thousand people sang the Hallelujah Chorus, and offered prayers and thanksgiving. The Queen, returning from her visit to this 'epitome of the world' wrote in her journal that she was 'overwhelmed by a sense of devotion to Almighty God for His goodness.'

Victorian England—not so stupid, after all, and certainly not in that hour hypocritical! A few weeks ago the blazing ruins of the Palace were seen as far away as Brighton, but the loss will be felt at the ends of the earth. We poked our fun at its monstrous proportions, and its strange stiffness, but it was a kind of shrine for 'memories that blessed and burned.' The glass-house has gone and we shall not build it again, but the thing for which it stood is safe within our hearts—the soul of Victorian England, our mother.

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RUSSIAN REALITY.

For a number of years Englishmen have treated all news from Russia as unreliable. To quote a traveller's account of present conditions was to elicit amused or angry questions demanding a complete verification of facts and usually ending with the remark, 'I suppose he just saw what he was allowed to see.'

We cannot recall a book which gave a calm record of the progress of the Russian Revolution by a man who might have escaped, yet went on living his life without any attempt to leave. The account¹ written by Mr. R. O. G. Urch is described as 'an English schoolmaster's five years of mild adventure in Moscow (1915-20).' It is an invaluable record of the ordinary family's experiences when the whole structure of society is pulled down and rebuilt. Whilst there are many shrewd observations on the conduct and policy of Kerensky, Lenin and the

¹ *We Generally Shoot Englishmen*, R. O. G. Urch, B.A. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 10s. 6d.

Patriarch Tikhon, there is no prejudice and, certainly, no desire to provide sensational pictures or to exaggerate horrors.

There is a vivid description of 'the creeping men' who fought and won the battle in Moscow streets in 1917. The origin of the Cheka and the policy it pursued is clearly defined. An amusing account of the new 'proprietors' of Professor Manusloff's farm shows the absurdity of expecting the Russian peasant to grasp the implications of the Bolshevik revolution. The Professor was astonished that his own farm-hands, his very good friends, should suddenly feel themselves compelled to assert their rights. Apologetically they told him that he might live on his farm when he had paid for the repairs he should have done to his house which was now their property. Beyond this they expected him to recompense them for two calves he had killed and eaten two years before. They were to be charged to him as full-grown cows, because had he not eaten them 'they would now have grown up!'

The gentle, every-day humour is presented side by side with grim tragedy. There is the picture of the English family crouching in the bedroom in the dark, whilst terrible massacre is occurring on the other side of the wall. More poignant still is the account of the small boy taking the body of his little brother in a wheelbarrow to bury it, because he was unable to *borrow* a coffin for the day. Days when police forces were inoperative, and food could only be obtained by barter, were succeeded by days of haphazard existence and hours of suspense and suspicion.

The book has charming vignettes of ordinary people in the throes of a revolution. Little John, the author's son, plays 'Rabochi-deputáty'—a child's version of the 'Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.' He had no red flag, but with the qualities characteristic of an English boy, he established himself with his little Union Jack, at the head of the procession.

This is a fascinating book from an entirely new angle, with a remarkable conclusion. A little company was returning to England. Someone suggested they should have 'three minutes silent hate for the Bolsheviks.' It was impossible. 'At that moment there can scarcely have been an ounce of hate among us—even for the Bolsheviks, who had, after all, let us out "with our things." For were we not off to the *Tagus*? And was not the *Tagus* taking us home, home to England?'—This is a book of real, unprejudiced observation and experience about the domestic incidence of the Russian Revolution.



Those who are still interested in the personality of Russia's greatest son, Leo Tolstóy, will welcome the volume¹ which includes Countess Tolstóy's Diary for 1910, and a portion of Leo Tolstóy's Diary for the same year. In *The Final Struggle* we have further evidence of the devoted work of Mr. Aylmer Maude who has helped more than anyone else to make Tolstóy a reality to the English-speaking world.

¹ *The Final Struggle*, Aylmer Maude. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 12s. 6d.

In the Introduction, Mr. Maude shows the path of intellectual and spiritual adventure which took him far beyond the reach of his friends and of his wife. Her orthodox social and religious opinions remained constant. As she so often said she was one of the crowd and Leovochka went on ahead, so far ahead that she only caught an occasional gleam from the lantern he carried. His increasing sense of spiritual values lessened his importance to society, so long as society measured importance by material standards. Financial success and the ownership of property became distasteful to him, but to the crowd the case was very different. He would gladly have abandoned all material possessions, but his wife's philosophy made no such demand on her.

The struggle that was inevitable will appear more clearly to those who read this last book. They will discover the part played by Chertkóv who supported Tolstóy in his advanced views on the question of the persecuted Doukhobors and similar matters.

In presenting this new book, with its invaluable documentary evidence, Mr. Aylmer Maude has helped to show us once more the real Tolstóy, absolutely sincere and desperately earnest. Notes and a Preface by Sergius Tolstóy complete this most important addition to the literature on the subject.

The last days were dark enough for Leo and his wife, but somehow, here and there, one catches the flicker of the light in his lantern—and once or twice it is near enough to be reflected in the woman's face. The whole book is reality—a welcome change from some of the ill-informed and bitter criticisms which have been as fashionable as the foolish flatteries which preceded them. It is now possible for the English reader to discover the man himself—maybe to share his dreams.

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'DE PROFUNDIS.'

Oscar Wilde's famous book *De Profundis* made its readers conscious of its vague beauty and dismayed them by its beautiful vagueness. There are men who have been in the depths and taken a morbid delight in returning to them by a series of mental excursions so prolonged that, at last, they have failed to come back. It is possible, of course, to read the book in a mood of detachment, and to put it down without being aware of any great challenge, or, indeed, of discovering any trace of triumph.

There has been published recently a book which is written on the heights by one who has plumbed the depths of human misery and solitude. It is a stirring call to those who have become indifferent to Christian service, and it is founded on experience.

How can we wonder that a child, outlawed at the beginning from the love which should have been his heritage, growing up amidst drunkenness and violence, should become a criminal! Fifteen years in prison may result in a hard heart or a closed mind, but they may develop a faculty of keen criticism of the social order, and a bitter

sense of the injustice of God. We have read confessions written by such men in a mood of self-pity and egotistic self-justification.

In one of the most remarkable books of recent years¹ one may read the story of a man who has conquered all such temptation and won through. 'For thirty years,' he says, 'life had its way with me in the cell, and all that it connotes in terms of degradation, repression, solitude and silence.' Robbed of love from his beginning, condemned to punishment for crimes which he does not attempt to excuse, passing through phases of contemptuous scepticism and alternating despair, he writes at last, 'I have been driven back, inexorably, though unconsciously it may have been, to the faith which, in spite of all attacks upon it, has persisted all down the centuries.'

In spite of the heartlessness of society, and the dulness of many who ought to have known better, he fought his way by the grace of God into a real and glowing experience. With words that burn themselves into your soul you may read of this amazing *Odyssey*. Here is the story of a man who has read widely, and explored the 'far country,' but made pilgrim's progress a reality. He has written other books of merit, because he is an artist of experience; he has written this book compelled by the reality of an amazing spiritual victory. He declares 'the main purpose of this book is to demonstrate out of my own personal experience that the power of God is able to raise up the fallen, the defeated and hopeless children of men, and that the touch of Christ Jesus has still its ancient power to heal sick souls.'

It would be an impertinence to say that this is a brave book. The author has felt too deeply to play with the word courage or think of its personal application. He writes sanely and frankly, but we feel he writes because he must. It is a message which sears and burns. No one whose heart is not stone could read it without being strangely moved. It will drive many to their knees, and it will help them to rise again to go about the Master's business with a deeper intensity, a surer conviction and a sense of gratitude to the messenger.

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THEOLOGY FOR GROUPS.

It is refreshing to discover an author who is able to present systematic theology in simple but convincing language, and with a real appreciation of the religious difficulties of the modern man. This last quality has been developed by Doctor Rall whilst serving as a Methodist minister in Connecticut and Baltimore, and subsequently as Professor of Systematic Theology in Denver and Evanston. His career at Yale and Halle had proved his ability as a philosopher, and his wide human contacts developed his faculties of lucid interpretation.

In his latest book, *A Faith for To-day*,² he has outlined a comprehensive philosophy of life from the Christian standpoint. Whilst it

¹ *Strange Triumph*, Stuart Wood. Hodder & Stoughton. 5/-.

² *A Faith for To-day*, Doctor Rall. Abingdon Press. \$2.

is an admirable handbook for the general reader, it is particularly suitable for groups and fellowships. Theological terminology is not used, and literary illustrations are modern and well chosen. The approach to the main problems of belief is original but never artificial; indeed, there is an air of reality about the whole book which should make a strong appeal to the man in the street, who is, or should become, the man in the group. One can imagine the ordinary business man reading it with immense profit.

When, for example, Dr. Rall deals with the problem of 'God and the Fact of Evil' he begins by considering the 'Problem of the Good.'—'We take good as a matter of course,' he says, 'and wonder why there is evil. It should be the other way round. The good is the real problem for thought. What is the good? How can we account for all the good in the world? What kind of a world must we have for its making?'—He demands order, solidarity, pain and struggle, and expands these implications in a way that will help not only the student, but the man unfamiliar with theological systems.

This unassuming but satisfying book will be valued by ministers who are anxious to encourage their people to think their way through.

LESLIE F. CHURCH.

'THE MOSLEM WORLD' FOR OCTOBER.

A notable example of Turkish art is shown in the frontispiece. It consists of the 112th Chapter of the Koran written round the words, 'God is Great.' The design is superb. It is often said that 'the Koran came down best in Mecca, is read best in Egypt and is written best in Turkey.' This chapter, known as the Surat-al-Ikhlas, is valued by Moslems as John iii. 16. is by Christians. Dr. Zwemer shows how sterile is the Moslem doctrine of God compared with the living truth revealed in the Incarnation of our Lord. An article by a C.M.S. Missionary in Egypt, Mr. S. A. Morrison, on 'Jesus, the Word of God,' can be read as a further comment on Dr. Zwemer's contention. The crisis in the World of Islam is dealt with fully in an able paper by Dr. D. Van der Meulen of the Nederlands diplomatic service. Readers will find here a valuable study of recent developments, political and religious, in Moslem countries, which have profoundly influenced the attitude of Islam to Christian culture in the West. Dr. Donaldson, Presbyterian Missionary in Persia, writes on the vexed question of 'Temporary Marriage,' and thinks that the present progressive ruler, Reza Shah Pahlavi, will use his influence to abolish it as no longer good enough for the women of Iran. With this should be read what Mr. Herrick Young, of Teheran, has to say on 'Contrasts in Iran.' Of unusual interest is a report by Rev. Qummus Sergius, a Coptic priest on 'Why Copts become Moslems.' A graduate student of Princeton, Edward Jabra Jurji, of Baghdad, inquires into the origin of the name Mohammad. There are other interesting articles on 'Sunday School Work in the Near East,' and 'The Advance of Islam in Nigeria.'

EDGAR B. ROEBUCK.

Notes and Discussions

SOME RECENT FOREIGN CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEW TESTAMENT STUDY

This last year has shown a renewed activity in the field of Johannine criticism. First we must notice two books written by Emanuel Hirsch, Professor of Church History at Göttingen, formerly editor of *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, and more recently prominent among the leaders of the 'German Christians.' It is true that Hirsch has made his name as a Church historian rather than as a New Testament specialist, and one wonders whether the fundamental weakness of these books is not found in the attempt to discover the secret of the Fourth Gospel in the cross-currents of life and thought in the Church during the middle of the second century. Both books are published by J. C. B. Mohr. The earlier one is entitled *Das vierte Evangelium in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt verdeutscht und erklärt*. It is evidently intended for intelligent laymen, and eschews all Greek words and technical discussions. Nevertheless it is based upon critical conclusions which are announced with an appearance of dogmatism. The reasons for the highly disputable statements are given in the second book, which is of a very different kind. This is number eleven in the series 'Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie,' and bears the title *Studien zum vierten Evangelium* (Text—Literarkritik, Entstehungsgeschichte). As this contains the processes which reappear as results in the earlier and more popular book it is advisable to study it first. Moreover, anyone who wishes to give serious study to Hirsch's treatment of the Gospel will find it far easier to read the popular book with the Greek text of the *Studien* open before him. The varieties of type and the marginal signs will help the reader to understand the liberties which the editor has taken with the text of the Gospel. The *Studien* must then be read first. We have, to begin with, a beautifully printed Greek text of the Gospel, with a few textual footnotes. The reader can see at a glance what is attributed to the original Gospel, what is attributed to the ecclesiastical Redaction (cursive) and what portions of the original Gospel have been displaced by the Redactor (spaced). Marginal notes make these distinctions even more clear and show where the displaced sections are supposed to have stood in the original text. The second part of the book consists of literary analysis, giving the general results and then providing notes on all the passages which have received special treatment. The third part discusses the story of the origin of the Fourth Gospel. It begins with an investigation into the original Gospel and attempts to discover what extra-Synoptic source was used by the writer in addition to the Synoptic Gospels. Then follows a section about the Apostle John. It is simply assumed

that the Epitomator of the History of Philip of Side and George the Monk warrant the assertion that John was slain by the Jews. But his brother James is coupled with John. Now Josephus (according to Eusebius) reports that in A.D. 62 the high-priest Ananus had James the Lord's brother and several other Christians stoned. As this James together with Peter and John are mentioned in Acts as pillars of the Jerusalem Church John is sure to have been one of those others who suffered martyrdom with James. Moreover, the allusion to the 'two witnesses' whose bodies lie dead in the streets of Jerusalem (Rev. xi. 7) must refer to the death of James and John. Therefore the Apostle John must have died long before the Gospel that has been attributed to him was written. Next the figure of John of Ephesus claims our attention. He must have come from Jerusalem to Ephesus not long before the year 70, and being a younger contemporary of the original Apostles, who had himself seen Jesus in his early days, was long years after identified in the Churches of Asia with the Apostle of the same name. He had actually nothing to do with the writing of the Gospel, but he wrote two Apocalypses which bore his name, one was written about the time when the Church at Jerusalem fled to Pella, the other was written in Asia during the persecution under Domitian. At the same time he revised the earlier apocalypse. After his death these two apocalypses were combined into one book and published by his disciples. This book, the Revelation of John, gained rapid recognition and is attested by many Fathers of the period when the Gospel is still without clear acknowledgement. We are then led further to consider the remarkable man who wrote the Johannine Epistles (or at any rate most of the First Epistle), who wrote the Appendix to the Gospel, edited the Gospel and so transformed it as to make it an acceptable document for the leaders of the Asiatic Church at a time when Gnostic heresies were causing grave trouble, and when the authority of an apostolic name was a valuable weapon in defending local usage regarding Easter observance against the demands of the Roman see.

By this time we are ready to return to Hirsch's earlier book. This prints a German version of what is presumed to have been the original Gospel, divided into seven cycles, each with five sub-divisions. Chapter and verse divisions are entirely wanting, and the whole text is numbered for forty-eight lections. For the reader's convenience a list of these lections is added, with chapter and verse references, showing what verses have been omitted as redactional or else have been transferred to some other place in the text. The second portion of the book furnishes us with Hirsch's critical conclusions. He thinks that the author of the Gospel in its original form was a man whose home was in a town where there was an Aramaic-speaking Jewish colony. On linguistic grounds North Syria seems more probable than Palestine. From Antioch, then, a travelling merchant visited Jerusalem, and there saw enough to provide him with those bits of local colour which have led so many readers to infer that the Gospel was written by a Jew of Palestine. The double name Simon Peter, and the confusion of that

disciple's father's name Jonah with John, point to a time when the first generation of disciples had passed away. So we are to imagine that this Gospel was written about the turn of the century. A generation afterwards, when nothing was known about the writer of this document, it fell into the hands of an Editor. This unknown man was a zealous churchman, who saw an opportunity of transforming a simple dramatic story into an ecclesiastical Gospel. His method was fourfold. First he added the twenty-first chapter, with other allusions to the Beloved Disciple elsewhere, so as to give the Gospel the authority of a close disciple of Jesus, with the suggestion that this was no other than the Son of Zebedee. This would carry the unknown Gospel into circles where the claim of apostolic authorship must secure a tardy recognition. In the second place the Editor enriched the book with a number of testimonies from the Old Testament which would add to its apologetic value. In the third place he added and modified passages to sharpen its use against the now prevalent danger of Gnosticism. In the fourth place we can detect additions in chapters x and xiii. 34-xvii which serve an ecclesiastical purpose. Thus, we are told, the Catholic Bishop and the teacher of Gnostic heresy are set in sharp contrast in the allegory of the Good Shepherd and the Hireling in chapter x. The same ecclesiastical spirit may be responsible for the way in which the Editor has turned the anti-legal Paulinism of the original Gospel into the proclamation of the 'new commandment,' and has also set the story in a chronological framework of named feasts. The date of this reconstruction of the Gospel is set down as somewhere between the years A.D. 130 and 140. The flimsy reason given for this is John v. 43, which is interpreted as a reference to the revolt against Rome led by Bar Cochba in Hadrian's reign. The best part of this popular book is the series of explanatory notes which occupy 366 out of 466 pages. The three writers who have evidently influenced Hirsch most are Wellhausen, Schwartz and B. W. Bacon. But he differs from Wellhausen in thinking that any use of a non-synoptic source goes back to the original evangelist, and has nothing to do with a Redactor. It is admonitory for those who are captivated by these experiments in literary analysis of the Fourth Gospel to contrast Hirsch's allocation of passages to the Redactor with Bacon's list of passages attributed to the same hypothetical personage. One sentence in the preface of Hirsch's later book acknowledges that the recently discovered papyrus fragment from the Passion narrative of the Fourth Gospel precludes a later date for the ecclesiastical edition of the Gospel than 130-40. We may well ask if the circulation of the Gospel in Egypt in the first half of the second century does not make all this speculation about the late origin of the Gospel as we have it extremely precarious.

The other book to which we must now turn is written by the versatile and most ingenious Dr. Robert Eisler. As an English translation is promised it is sure to receive considerable attention in the near future, and we shall therefore give it as much space in this review as is possible. In a famous letter written to *The Times* last February, Dr. Eisler called attention to his punctuation and interpretation of the anti-Marcionite

Latin prologue to the Gospel which the recent researches of De Bruyne have brought once again to the fore. But he also gave some account of an extraordinary theory which he has evolved to explain the formation and purpose of the Fourth Gospel. In this letter he referred to his book, *Das Rätsel des Johannesevangelium* (Sonderdruck Eranos-Jahrbuch, 1935), Rhein-Verlag, Zürich, 1936. It is impossible here to do more than offer an outline of Eisler's theory. He starts with a classification into two groups of the eight MSS. in which De Bruyne has found the anti-Marcionite Prologue to St. John. He then formulates the theory that this Prologue originally read: 'The Gospel of John was manifested by John, while he still remained in the body, as Papias, called the Hieropolitan, has related in his five exegetical books, but Marcion the heretic wrote the Gospel, while John rightly dictated the true (Gospel). After he had been condemned, because he held contrary opinions, he was dismissed by John. He had indeed brought over writings, that is letters, from the brethren who lived in Pontus.' Eisler thinks that he can see in the words found in one group of manuscripts tendentious modifications of this supposed original. Who was this John? Obviously not the son of Zebedee, says Dr. Eisler, because he died a martyr's death with his brother James in A.D. 42, according to the statement of Papias. (We notice in passing how very loosely statements of fact are made!) Moreover, Papias refers to a Presbyter John, and the second and third Epistles of John are written by one who styles himself Presbyter. The Gospel and Epistles of John come from the same writer. But there is internal evidence in 1 John ii. 18 ('And now many antichrists have arisen') that this letter was written at the time 'when many Antichrists or false Messiahs, Andrew Lukuas, Bar Cochba, Rufus and Armillus,' arose in the reigns of the emperors Trajan and Hadrian. (Without stopping to inquire into the historical character of Rufus and Armillus we must point out that 1 John ii. 22, iv. 3 and 2 John 7 make it clear that the allusion is to no political rising of Jewish insurgents, but to false teachers who have arisen within the Christian Church.) Similarly John v. 43 ('I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: if another come in his own name, him ye will receive') is adduced as evidence that this Gospel was written in the reign of Trajan, when Andrew's revolt had broken out but the later claimants were still unknown, for the singular is used, not the plural. Having thus determined the date of the Gospel Dr. Eisler points out that anyone writing a Gospel a century after the crucifixion must have used written sources. What were these? A startling speculation is that Marcion may have brought one of these with him from Pontus, and that this is what was originally meant by the 'writings' in the Prologue. What if this was the document written by the Beloved Disciple, the last words of which are taken over as they stand in John xxi. 24? If we ask who was that Beloved Disciple, Dr. Eisler is ready with an answer (which he thinks Johannes Kreyenbühl was the first to announce in a book published in 1900), Lazarus, because we are told that Jesus loved Lazarus, and his sisters Martha and Mary. He further follows H. B. Swete's well-

known identification of Lazarus and the Beloved Disciple with the rich young man of whom we read (Mark x. 21) that 'Jesus looking upon him loved him.' We might point out that this sort of argument, which treats the Gospels as a jigsaw puzzle, requires the presuppositions of a fundamentalist rather than those of a critical scholar. Be that as it may, Dr. Eisler continues his victorious progress by asserting that the source quoted by the Fourth Evangelist in John xxi. 20, 24 is no other than the Gospel of Lazarus, from which also Luke drew the material used in the parable of Dives and Lazarus. But the most astonishing part of this theory is that on the ground of the etymological equivalence of Lazarus and Eleazar, the disciple whom Jesus loved is identified with Eleazar, son of Deinæus, whom Josephus (*B.J.* ii. 235, 253) describes as 'a brigand chief, who for twenty years had ravaged the country,' until 'Felix captured him and sent him with many of his associates for trial to Rome.' It may well be asked whatever madness have we here. But there is some method in this madness, for Dr. Eisler in his celebrated book, *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist*, brought to light a connexion which is not mentioned in his present book. In his description of the final disaster at Jerusalem Josephus (*B.J.* v. 567) makes a passing reference to one Lazarus, thus: 'When Mannaeus, son of Lazarus, who sought refuge in those days with Titus, reported. . . .' The curious Slavonic version substitutes for 'son of Lazarus' these words: 'brother's son of Lazarus, whom Jesus raised out of his grave after he had become putrid.' In the present book Dr. Eisler contents himself with quoting from 'Josippon,' a chronicle of Jewish history from Adam to the end of the Jewish War against Rome, probably compiled in Hebrew in the tenth century. There, in a mutilated text, some words are found in the first printed edition (1476) in a passage dealing with the reign of Caligula. 'In those days there were wars and conflicts in Judaea between the Pharisees and the brigands of our people who followed the son of Joseph . . . Eleazar, who had committed great crimes in Israel until the Pharisees had conquered him.' Out of such precarious material Dr. Eisler builds up his theory that Eleazar was a disciple of Jesus, a leader of those enthusiastic Messianic Christians who were eagerly expecting the speedy return of Jesus. In the Pseudo-Clementine writings Deineias and Lazarus are both represented as priests. How well that would fit in with John xviii. 15, where that 'other disciple' is known to the high priest! If the Gospel of Lazarus (=the Beloved Disciple = Eleazar the brigand chief) is one source of the Fourth Gospel, what is the other? Why, a Gospel written by a follower of Simon Magus, who was the father of Gnosticism, who represented himself as the 'Paraclete,' the 'Son' and the 'Father.' This is the obvious origin of the Paraclete sayings in John xiv-xvi. Moreover, the recently discovered fragment of an unknown Gospel, which to so many of us seems to be quite evidently an apocryphal Gospel which draws from our four canonical Gospels, is taken by Dr. Eisler to be part of the Simonian Gospel, for it has a strange story which looks very much like an account of the sort of magical trick which is reported of Simon Magus in some

of the legends about him in early Christian literature. In that case the very words which seem to be quotations from the Fourth Gospel will be used as evidence that John actually borrowed from this Gospel according to Simon Magus! A further argument for this theory is that Jesus is called a Samaritan and demon-possessed (John viii. 48). Jesus denies the latter, but tacitly accepts the former statement. Most readers have regarded the first term as a mere word of abuse. That Jesus should seriously repudiate the charge of demon possession is what we should expect from Mark iii. 22-30. But Dr. Eisler sees a new meaning in the reference. The crucified Christ had been regarded as a Samaritan. It could therefore be no reproach against Simon, 'Jesus Redivivus,' 'the other Paraclete,' that he was a Samaritan. What fulness of meaning also attaches to John iv. if this has been taken over from the other Gospel! Now Simon, according to tradition, was trained in Alexandria. That would account for the Philonian prologue in the first chapter with its Logos teaching, and for the many parallels in language and thought to the terminology of Gnosticism. No wonder Gaius declared that the Fourth Gospel was written by the heretic Cerinthus. In fact John the Presbyter must have been rather off his guard when he incorporated so much from these very doubtful sources! What the first draft must have been we can only imagine. Dr. Eisler's conclusion is that we have a corrected edition revised by the author of the Johannine Epistles, whose anti-Gnostic zeal is beyond reproach. The Presbyter discovered that his irresponsible scribe Marcion had interpolated many 'contrary opinions,' which he now tried honestly, if not with complete success, to remove from the Gospel.

Eisler's book when published in an English translation is sure to make a Press sensation. It can be inferred from this very inadequate account that to most of us it can only appear a fantastic distortion of facts, mingled with guess-work of a highly imaginative order. But for the serious student a thorough and critical examination of it paragraph by paragraph will be a most remunerative exercise. The author's learning is immense. His critical judgement unfortunately does not match his erudition.

A subject which in the last few years has begun to receive closer attention than heretofore is the place of eschatology in the Fourth Gospel. Remarkably little is said about this by the two writers whose books have just been considered. Two interesting essays have appeared in recent issues of *Theologische Blätter*. One in the August number (vol. xv. 185ff.) by Professor Preisker of Breslau regards the Gospel of John as the first part of an apocalyptic work in two sections. The life and mission of Jesus was conceived by the Evangelist eschatologically from beginning to end. Afterwards his document was worked over in the style and sense of the author of the Johannine Epistles. The next number (vol. xv. 225ff.) has an essay by Professor W. G. Kümmel of Zürich dealing with The Eschatology of the Gospels, its history and its meaning, in which the treatment of the Fourth Gospel by German commentators under this head receives as full consideration as the space allows. Both these essays must be studied by those

who are concerned either with the Johannine theology or with the general question of the eschatology of Jesus.

Ten years ago attention was drawn in these pages to the third (1923) edition of that useful N.T. Introduction by Professor Paul Feine. The same publishers (Quelle & Meyer, Leipzig) have just brought out an entirely new (eighth) edition, in which Professor Johannes Behm has completely revised and in parts re-written the book while keeping within the framework of the original work. Dr. Behm of Berlin University is one of the editors of the new Göttingen commentary to which he contributed the exposition of Revelation. He is also known for some valuable articles in Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch*. The general position of this Introduction is decidedly conservative, though Behm has taken into account the principal books that represent other points of view. We may give a few indications of the critical standpoint. The Fourth Gospel is a unity, the work of the son of Zebedee, helped in literary composition by a group of disciples who added ch. xxi. and arranged the imperfectly finished sheets of the Gospel. Galatians was addressed to the Christians in North Galatia. 2 Corinthians is a unity. Paul was released from his first Roman imprisonment, visited Spain and made a further journey to the East. The Pastorals were neither written nor dictated by him, but were written by one of his helpers under his direction but with a free hand. In the same way 1 Peter was written actually by Silvanus but the subject matter was provided by the Apostle Peter. James the Lord's brother allowed a free Greek translation of a collection of hortatory addresses to be sent out in the form of a general epistle.

Last year we reported the publication of a delightful little pocket commentary on the Gospels by Professor Wilhelm Michaelis of Bern. The second volume has since appeared. This covers the rest of the N.T. *Das Neue Testament verdeutscht und erläutert*: zweiter Band: *Taten der Apostel, Briefe, Offenbarung* (Leipzig, Alfred Kröner). The introductory sections prefixed to each book are compact and sum up the most important points for consideration. The general position taken up is conservative. The notes are very brief. The translation is itself in places a condensed commentary. An admirable feature in the notes is the large use of scripture references. We need just such a pocket N.T. Commentary in English.

New Testament students must have been disappointed in the small provision which has been made for their interests in the *Theologische Rundschau* this year. They have had to be content with the second instalment of Bultmann's article, 'Neueste Paulusforschung.' This section deals with the presuppositions of the Pauline theology. The most valuable parts of this important article are those which are devoted to Paul's relation to the Judaism of the Synagogue, and with the special influences that reached him through Hellenistic Judaism.

W. F. HOWARD.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ALFRED HOLLINS

FOR many years now it has been the custom of musical celebrities to publish, towards the close of their careers, memoirs of triumphs and conquests. These have often been of so poor a quality that the reviewer begins to greet their appearance with anything but a welcoming cheer. When, therefore, an autobiography such as *A Blind Musician Looks Back* (Blackwood. 15s. 6d.) comes to hand, one is pleased to find that it is not the work of the Grub Street ghost employed by many prima donnas and heroic tenors.

Dr. Alfred Hollins's genius as organist, improviser, and composer for his instrument needs no commendation of mine. Indeed, it says much for his book that it has enthralled from first page to last one who has never had the pleasure of hearing him play. There is a great deal about organs and recital tours, but there is also much that entirely transcends in importance what is, after all, but one sphere of the musical world. In other words, the book has human values.

The very first sentence of all will surprise, for Dr. Hollins speaks of having first seen the light on September 11, 1865, at 123, Coltman Street, Hull.

"This is a strange expression to be used by one who is supposed to have been blind from birth. For many years I believed that I was born blind, and for all practical purposes that was so. But an eminent oculist who examined my eyes when I was a student at Norwood told me that I must actually have had the power to see. He asked when I lost my sight. I said I had never had it. "You mustn't say that any more," he said, "for you were certainly born seeing. Whether you saw only for a minute, or an hour, or a day, I can't tell you . . .".

Throughout the book it is evident that Dr. Hollins attaches great importance to so training the blind that they are able to conduct themselves as ordinary people as far as possible. This desire is illustrated in an incident very early in his life that is at once humorous and pathetic. Some one had given him a tambourine without telling him how to use it properly, and he did not find much fun in beating it like a drum with a stick.

"Then I bethought me of a spring gun lying idle amongst my toys, a very real gun which shot out a small stick or ramrod. The kitchen at Welton House was approached from the hall by going down two or three steps, at the bottom of which were two doors right and left with the kitchen door between them. The door on the left led into the garden and was set slightly back; that on the right led into a cupboard under the stairs. These two doors were exactly opposite each other and perhaps eight feet apart, and on the cupboard door was a fixed knob at a convenient height for me to reach. I used to hang the tambourine on this knob with the drum-head outwards, load my gun by pressing the spring inside the barrel down with the ramrod until it clicked, and place the muzzle of the gun right on the centre of the tambourine, as near as I could judge, raising the butt to my shoulder. Then I walked backwards to the garden door, keeping the gun pointing to where I had placed the muzzle, and as stiff and steady as possible, until my back touched the garden door. And then I fired. I could tell by the sound whether I had hit the tambourine, but not the exact spot where I had hit it. There followed a grope on the floor—sometimes short, sometimes long—until I found the ramrod. Sometimes I took aim on chance, just guessing the height. I hit the door as often as I hit the tambourine, but if my shooting marked the paint I was never scolded for it."

The chapters on his childhood and the days spent at the Wilberforce School for the Blind, York, and the Royal Normal College, Norwood,

have a peculiar vividness that a sighted person, realizing them to be the work of a blind man, finds uncanny, especially when he asks himself whether he could relate his own early days in an equally lively way.

As a traveller Dr. Hollins can beat the best of sighted men. He has toured Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and America, and the story of his 1925-26 tour of the United States and Canada should certainly stand as the classic account of what American hustle expects of a man. Take, for instance, the night he and his travelling companion left Madison, Wisconsin, for St. Paul, Minnesota. According to the arranged schedule they were to leave at midnight, but they learned that on Sundays the only train for St. Paul left at half-past nine. The recital was billed to begin at eight-thirty, and to catch the train meant leaving the church by nine-twenty at the latest. To facilitate this the opening was put back a quarter of an hour.

'Fortunately there was no applause, and thus I gained time between the pieces. The moment I had finished the last piece I slid off the organ seat. Frank and Mills were waiting for me. I had not time to take off my thin organ shoes and put on boots. These and my overcoat Frank carried, and Mills piloted me at top speed down the narrow gallery stair. We bundled into our taxi, and the driver started off almost before the door was shut. I scrambled into my overcoat as best I could and changed into boots. When we reached the station we had two minutes to spare. . . . In spite of the excitement I must have slept well that night. Otherwise I could not have got through the next day, as I did, without feeling the least bit tired, for it was one of the longest, busiest and most strenuous days I have ever spent.'

Of this American tour the only thing one really regrets to learn is that the younger school of American organists have little sympathy for organ music by English composers.

Of Dr. Hollins's own musical predilections it may be said that they are eminently sane. He contrasts himself with Edward Naylor, and speaks of him as 'what I would call a logical musician. He always tried to find the reason why a composer wrote in a certain style or designed a composition in a certain way. I used to say to him: "Why are you always digging and delving for reasons? I don't care two pins about the why and the wherefore so long as the sound is right".' It is very curious, however, to find Dr. Hollins writing of a performance of the *Dream of Gerontius* at the Sheffield Festival in October, 1902, that he would 'never forget the realistic effect of the demons' chorus; the snarling was terrifying,' because nearly every one has found this portion of the oratorio somewhat unconvincing. Perhaps the clue may be found in his remark: 'Choruses now seem to sing as though they thought only of the notes; they cannot be "foul spirits" for the nonce.'

The amount of detail that there is in this book of four hundred and fifty-two pages would alone show the retentiveness of Dr. Hollins's memory, even if we did not know the enormous extent of his repertory. When one has finished, it is difficult to believe that there can have been any deterioration at all in his powers of memorizing; but he tells us that he remembers 'almost all the music I learned before I was twenty far better than that which I learned, say, between twenty and fifty. . . . As one grows older one's powers of memorizing

lose some of their resilience, and, apart from that, in my student days I practised hard and steadily. . . . Before I was twenty I had played the piano part of four concertos with various orchestras, besides having learned a large number of solo pieces both for piano and organ and a quantity of accompaniments of choruses, anthems, songs, and so on.'

The labour that his pursuit of a professional career has involved is probably only dimly envisaged by the sighted, and therefore it is salutary to read his method of work:

'Until ten or twelve years ago Braille music was written in short blocks or paragraphs: first, a few bars for the right hand, next the corresponding bars for the left hand, and finally (in organ music) the pedal part. Although after I had mastered Braille music I could memorize away from the instrument with the old style of notation, I found it easier to play as I read. First I read a block of right-hand with my left, playing with my right; and when I had done this several times until my fingers found the notes almost automatically, I read with my right hand and played with my left, thus memorising the left. While the left hand was learning the right often forgot and the job had then to be done again before I could put the hands together. Then I learned the pedal part, which in itself was easy, consisting as it did chiefly of single notes. But it was not always easy to play the two hands and pedal together without anyone near to correct me from a sighted copy. It was, in fact, a slow and often a difficult process, especially in big contrapuntal works like Bach's.'

In the closing paragraphs Dr. Hollins expresses the hope that something will be found in his book to interest the general reader and something to encourage young blind musicians. There can be little doubt that his wish will be fulfilled. For one who has had to overcome a physical handicap his has indeed been a full life. A short article can give but a suggestion of the book's contents: childhood memories, methods of education, and problems of a professional career, all are spiritedly recorded, for he has a zest for adventure and a power of expressing joy in visiting places and scenes and meeting people that few sighted people possess. The description of his ascent to the top of the Woolworth Building, New York, is particularly bracing.

STANLEY A. BAYLISS.

THE ENGLAND OF OUR FATHERS

The Oxford History of England continues to fulfil anticipations, and, if the volumes in course of preparation attain to anything like the high standard of that to which attention is called in this paper, when complete it will rank high as a standard work. Mr. Ensor's volume¹ embodies the result of immense research, is well documented, and gives evidence of critical discernment, balanced judgement and real historic insight. Great as is the mass of material with which he has made himself familiar, it would no doubt have been easier for the author to have made his book longer; but he never lets his material run away with him, he is always its master, has the power to estimate values which enables its possessor to set forth the essential, and to let the inessential go. Mr. Ensor,

¹ *England, 1870-1914.* By R. C. K. Ensor. (Humphrey Milford, Clarendon Press, 15s.)

furthermore, enjoys in eminent degree the capacity of imparting knowledge. His clear narrative style renders the book easy to read, he grips the reader's attention from the very first page, and holds it to the very last sentence. It is the sort of book which, once read, must be re-read for the sheer pleasure of reading it. In a word *England 1870-1914* is a contribution to contemporary history of abiding interest and importance; it is at the same time a valuable addition to modern literature.

The short half-century covered by this volume was, so far as our country is concerned, a period of fateful interest. The reader can hardly other than feel that during these years, despite progress and achievements not to be gainsaid, the position of England among the nations at the outbreak of the World War was hardly what it had been at the close of the Franco-Prussian conflict. It would seem that—somewhere about 1870 Mr. Ensor dates it—this country had passed the zenith of its power and influence. In a few respects there has been actual retrocession, in many there has been real progress, but that progress has been less than that achieved elsewhere; hence a relative decline in power and prestige.

It is, we fear, only too true that our period witnessed a decline in religious earnestness and a certain weakening of moral fibre. Victorian England was one of the most religious countries that history has known, its religion being, moreover, of a type which laid special stress on conduct. It put pleasure in the background and duty in the foreground to a marked degree. To it the present day passion for pleasure would have seemed simply shocking; its passion was one for self-improvement. Sunday Observance was still a reality, games and entertainments were almost unknown; church attendance was taken for granted; the Sunday Schools abode in strength; and family worship in decent homes was almost a matter of course. Only in the largest urban areas were there great 'heathen' populations which never attended a place of worship, and were altogether outside the Churches. By 1870 religion had attained its maximum influence in England, and the first signs of decline began to appear. Three disintegrating forces are indicated by Mr. Ensor: the Anglo-Catholic movement within the Church; the free-thinking movement outside it, with which the names of Bradlaugh, Matthew Arnold, and Huxley are associated in different ways; and the cult of pleasure. In this hedonistic movement a dominating influence was that of the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII), whose life of good-natured self-indulgence had far-reaching effects. His Sunday evening dinner parties in the 'eighties struck a severe blow at the Victorian practice of Sunday Observance. He sponsored, if he was not the inventor of, the 'week-end.' Along the road thus opened up the nation travelled far during the generation which followed. This secular movement, it is hardly necessary to say, is one of the vital religious problems of the present day.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Ensor places the culminating point of material prosperity in 1870, the very date at which religion attained its maximum influence in the life of the nation. This raises

the question how far the relation between these two zeniths was a causal one—a matter which, for obvious reasons, cannot be considered in detail here. The point, however, is significant, and will well bear thinking about.

Between 1870 and 1886 two financial crises were experienced. The first in mid-Europe, in 1873, was an aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War—wild speculative enterprise in Austria and building mania in Germany. In the same year the demonetization of silver by the new German Empire and the countries of the Latin Union was equivalent to a contraction of the world's gold supply. England was not perhaps deeply affected for the moment, but within three years was experiencing great depression, which culminated in the collapse of the Glasgow City Bank in 1878. By the end of the year British industry was showing signs of improvement, though the agricultural depression continued to deepen. In the early 'eighties a bank crash in Paris was followed by a fall in prices. This second slump 'gave Victorian courage and optimism the severest shock it had yet received.' Before the end of 1887 the outlook distinctly improved, but the old glad confidence of earlier years was not to be regained. 'It is symptomatic that the word "unemployed" used as a noun is first recorded by the *Oxford English Dictionary* from the year 1882; the word "unemployment" from 1888.'

Other changes, meanwhile, were making an unwelcome appearance in industrial life. Perhaps the most notable, and in some respects the most sinister, was the rapid change-over from the individual captain of industry, as employer of labour, to the limited company. Intended mainly, in the first instance, to limit liability, it had the result of divorcing ownership from management. The change doubtless had certain obvious advantages, e.g. greater ease in securing capital for extension, and the securing of efficiency in direction as hereditary management was unable to do. But, as Mr. Ensor puts it, 'it legalized irresponsible wealth.' The owner became impersonal, and the old relation, one might almost call it patriarchal, between employer and employed, went by the board. In other words it dehumanized industrial relations, and all too often the 'cash nexus' alone was left. This was all to the bad, it tended to embitterment, and to the strife which is all too recurrent a feature of modern industry. Mass production and machinery, furthermore, have between them almost killed craftsmanship, one of the chief glories of labour in earlier times. There is little room for creative effort in manipulating a machine.

Agriculture, in the meantime, had steadily fallen back. In the late 'seventies the rivalry of American wheat began to exert irresistible pressure upon the English markets. This was mainly due to the expansion of American railroads, rapid development of ocean transport, and, most important of all, the use of agricultural machinery on large-scale farms across the Atlantic, where land was abundant and intensive cultivation unnecessary. The Law of Diminishing Returns came remorselessly into play. European agriculture could not compete on equal terms; it might be, indeed it was, more efficient,

but efficiency was overborne by the bounty of virgin Nature. Save England and Belgium, every European wheat-growing country met the threat by tariffs. The blow fell with crushing force upon the English farmer as the price of wheat steadily fell. Our dependence upon foreign corn grew by leaps and bounds. Many labourers were driven off the land to swell the slum population of the towns; many emigrated—nearly a million persons left England during a decade. It is difficult for us to believe that in 1880 agriculture was our leading industry. But the speculator appeared upon the scene, buying up populous corn-lands for conversion into uninhabited sheep-runs. Men and capital were withdrawn from the land, and 'so was consummated the urbanizing of a nation, which till a century before had possessed only one great city, and whose traditions of popular culture were almost entirely rural.' England had staked her future on being 'the workshop of the world'; but during the 'eighties other nations were entering into competition with her, and rival workshops were springing up, while tariff barriers were rising against her manufactured goods. The challenge to British industrial supremacy was such as could not be effectively met. 'The homogeneous England of the mid-Victorian decades broke up at the end of the 'eighties.' The 'nineties were a period of unsettlement. The lower middle and the working classes were tasting power in measure unknown before, and as they became articulate the unpleasing spirit of the *parvenu* became ever more obtrusive. In religion, society, politics and business old ideals were losing their hold, and no new ideals adequate to replace them were forthcoming. Amid deepening shadows Queen Victoria passed away. 'The sky of England had been clouding for years before; what with the collapse of the countryside, the new-born social unrest in the towns, the waning of religious faith, and above all the sense of an uncontrollable transition to the unknown—the feeling that the keys of power were transferring themselves to new classes, new types of men, new nations'—these things reminded thoughtful men that an epoch had closed, and envisaged their outlook with a strange atmosphere of apprehension and uncertainty.

The Press, still the best in the world, had likewise undergone considerable change, not all for the better. Until the middle 'eighties the leading organs of opinion were eminently respectable and dignified. Though by no means unprofitable, their ownership was not primarily commercial 'and the newspaper world was about the last quarter in which anyone then would have looked for a millionaire.' Proprietors valued their papers less as a means of making money than for the political and social influence they conferred, and very generally regarded that influence as a personal trust for which they must render an account. They presented facts without any attempt to doctor the news. In 1880 *Tit-Bits* appeared as the herald of the new journalism which directed its appeal no longer to the more educated classes, but sought to reach a wider public by giving that public what it wanted. The new journalism was indeed sensational but its key feature 'was not sensation but commercialism. It ran its sensations,

as it ran everything else, to make money, and measured them solely by the sales they brought.' The father of this school was Alfred Harmsworth, who graduated from *Tit-Bits* office by starting *Answers* in 1888. The final success of this venture enabled him to enter daily journalism with the co-operation of Kennedy Jones by the purchase of the *Evening News* in 1894, which was followed two years later by the founding of the *Daily Mail*, an event which gave its founders a place in contemporary history. Mr. Ensor is severe in his judgement of Lord Northcliffe, who is described as boyish in the range of his intellect, changeable and irresponsible. Whatever benefited his publications was justifiable, and he had no concern with the effect of their contents on the public mind. 'Originally, apart from a born zest for news, he was only interested in newspapers as bringing money. Later he appreciated them also as bringing power. He never appreciated that they brought responsibility. . . . His political mentality was that of the London clerk class.' The technique of the new journalist differed widely from the old. The latter would print his news pretty much as it came in. But the new would write up his reports to make them 'lively.' The one presented news raw, the other served it cooked. Cooking never makes news truer; and whereas hitherto the reader had been given the facts, with some guidance as to their interpretation in the leader, 'now it was sought to create his opinion by doctoring the facts before they reached him.' This practice has sometimes done the nation serious dis-service. The old journalism repudiated responsibility; if the day's news was dull—that was the affair of Providence. But the new at all costs must give the public what it wanted, and if Providence did not supply sensational news, the office must undertake that duty. Hence the 'stunt' method. The public is supposed to like 'a good hate'; this is most readily supplied by exciting xenophobia against some particular nation, in the nineteenth century it was France, in the twentieth Germany. The length to which an enterprising editor will go was illustrated, during the Boxer trouble in 1900, by the detailed report of a frightful massacre of those who had taken refuge in the legations at Pekin—a massacre which had never taken place. The world situation to-day confers upon an irresponsible Press immense possibilities for evil. It is to be hoped that, realizing the serious issues which are at stake, the Press will avoid sensationalism and bitterness, and will rise to the greatness of its opportunity, by giving calm and enlightened guidance to a public at best but partially informed, and leading the nations in the path of peace and conciliation. It is not too much to say that a world Press instinct with the spirit of Christ might not only dispel the dark shadow of war, but could so change the spirit of international relations as to open up the path to a prosperity such as history has never known in the years that are gone.

This paper must conclude though it has merely touched upon the subject-matter of the masterly volume, to which its purpose is to call attention. Nothing has been said, for instance, about foreign policy, a topic which is handled with the same clarity and insight as

that displayed in the treatment of home affairs. The omission is deliberate, as any attempt to deal with the subject would have extended this paper to unreasonable length. Foreign affairs, if treated at all, must be dealt with in a separate essay.

In conclusion, Mr. Ensor's review of a fateful half century reveals not a little for which the English reader may be proud and thankful. But this satisfaction is not unalloyed. Indeed, the impression left upon the mind of the present writer is, on the whole, one of sadness and regret. Things might have fallen out so differently from what has actually come to pass. 'To err is human'; this old saying receives ample illustration in these pages. It is, of course, easy to be wise after the event, and harsh criticism of the statesmen who have guided the nation's destinies would be uncharitable. But it is sufficiently obvious that some policies have turned out ill; that at a parting of the ways the wrong turning has more than once been taken; that great opportunities for social and political betterment have been let slip; and that many of the troubles which have befallen our own and other nations were avoidable, but statesmen, as is inevitable, failing to see the end from the beginning, they have had to be endured. It is, however, possible to get help for the present by learning from the past. This fact gives great practical value to the intelligent study of history, and we should like to think that the teaching of this stimulating volume may be turned to advantage by all who take a leading part in the conduct of affairs, whether political, commercial, or social, and in respect alike of national and international relations.

W. ERNEST BEET.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH

WE live in an age to which the very word Authority is meaningless. We are bewildered both by the topics which are discussed and the freedom with which they are handled. Traditional beliefs and habits hitherto treated with respect are questioned and even ridiculed. Revolutionary opinions on Sociology, Art, and Morals are openly advocated. Even the great dogmas of nineteenth century science, associated with the mighty names of Newton and Darwin, are in the melting pot. The pessimist utters a despairing 'Ichabod' and the optimist cries hopefully 'Granda est veritas et prevalebit.' The dogmatist is for the moment silenced. We are uncertain what the morrow will bring forth or what new discovery will alter all our previous beliefs and practices. A clever caricaturist has represented the modern man contemplating a gigantic note of interrogation.

Least of all is the religious world immune from the prevailing spirit. Dr. Dale thus expressed it in his day:

'A hundred years ago, fifty years ago, thirty years ago, our fathers were in possession of exact definitions of all the great truths of the Christian faith. Immense provinces of Christian doctrine were laid down in their theological schemes with all the definiteness and clearness of an ordinance survey. Definitions of every doctrine were under the preacher's hand accessible at any moment. The substance of his

sermons was found for him. He was travelling in a country in which all the roads were made and it was impossible for him to go wrong. Now, all this has passed away. The power of theological tradition is decaying. The illegitimate supremacy of great names has ceased. The substance of the ancient faith remains, but people find it hard to give their faith a definite expression, and on many questions which seem to be remote from the central truths of Christian tradition there is the greatest indecision and uncertainty.'

So much for a generation ago. To-day the position is no better but distinctly worse. Yet the story of the Church seems to challenge the spirit of the age and imply divine authority. Here surely is the miracle of miracles, divine treasure in earthen vessels, the sacred deposit. Here we have a *semper eadem* in a changing world.

We think of the simplicity of the beginnings of the Church. No magic was there except the spiritual presence of the Master, no mystery save the mystery of His love. In its expansion we trace no plan or organization, only one glowing heart setting another heart afame.

We call the roll of the heroes and martyrs of faith. We picture the aged Polycarp, faced with the alternative of denying his Lord or suffering death. His noble words have sounded through the ages: 'Eighty and six years have I served my Lord Christ and He has done me no wrong. How can I blaspheme my King who saved me?'

We think of scholars and theologians, like Clement of Alexandria, Augustine, and Origen; of preachers like Chrysostom who, for the beauty of his eloquence was called 'The mouth of gold,' and men of courage like Ambrose who put down princes from their seats.

We think of the saints and mystics of the Church. We call to mind the sweet souled Bernard of Clairvaux who, with an imperious gesture, sweeps Peter from the gates of heaven and installs Philip and Andrew in his place, and answers the 'Sir we would see Jesus' of the seeking world with matchless poetry and song. We think of St. Francis of Assisi who embraced poverty and taught the sacredness of all God's creation, high and low. We remember the gallant Ignatius of Loyola who became a Knight of Christ and in the darkest days of the Church sent out missionaries to the farthest East and the remotest West.

We remember the great artists who laid their treasure at the Church's feet—Da Vinci, Titian, Raphael, Guido, Angelo, Murillo, Rembrandt and Rubens. We see the cathedrals of surpassing beauty that the love of the Church has inspired; ancient monasteries and universities also that kept alight the torch of learning. The Church too can show a continuous ministry of healing and social betterment. In all centuries the poor have had the Gospel preached to them. It has inspired and produced the leaders of the social movement of our own day.

The Church embodies a great wealth of religious culture. It has spoiled the Egyptians. It has conquered its enemies by absorbing them. Like a great tree it has spread out its roots and drawn nourishment and enrichment from many sources. It embodies the best of Hebrew piety, Greek philosophy, Roman order, and Hellenistic mysticism.

Above all it possesses the Bible, a precious treasure which has no rival in the world. Religious thought and imagination have never

surpassed the book of Job. The Psalms give classic utterance to the deepest religious devotion. The Gospels 'present to the world an ideal figure which, through all the changes of nineteen centuries has filled the hearts of men with an impassioned love.'

Such a conception of the Church makes it very easy to take the next step and believe that here is a living body permanently and forever animated by the Holy Spirit. Here we have a visible agency for distributing the gifts of the grace of God. Its ministers and sacraments are the *media* of Christ's salvation and its head is the mouthpiece through which God speaks. It is easy to persuade ourselves that the Church has held the sacred deposit intact and undiminished through all the ages.

But such a conception of the Church is not allowed to pass unchallenged, and an authority that is disputed is in danger of becoming no longer an authority. Dr. Martineau takes the proud slogan of the Church, 'One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic,' and subjects it to devastating criticism. The Church is not one in its opinions and teachings, nor indeed has it ever been. The pages of its history are full of controversy, theologian against theologian, Pope against Pope. Bishops have met in council and exchanged not only ideas but missiles.

Does the Church call its roll of saints? Holiness is not confined to one section of Christianity, nor for that matter to one religion. It is the mark by which all men who truly find God are known. On the other hand Popes, prelates, and priests, have been guilty of deeds of cruelty, avarice, and lust, the reading of which sickens and saddens the soul.

Does the Church profess to be catholic? Not everything that is uniform is of God. There is a stereoscopic effect that is produced by shutting out of view all surrounding objects. The unity that is brought about by ruthless purging, excommunication and in many cases wholesale murder, is more of the nature of a totalitarian state than a living Church of Christ. And as for the Church being Apostolic, even if it could be historically demonstrated, which of the Apostles would feel at home in St. Peter's to-day? Or what is there in common between the simple Christianity of the New Testament and the organization and worship of the modern Church?

Nor can we support the authority of the Church by the authority of the Bible or make the Bible an authority in the sense that our fathers did. Elementary Bible study reminds us that in this book we have sixty-six Jewish writings by many different authors, the composition of which is spread over a period of more than a thousand years. The titles of the books are no reliable guide to authorship. In the earlier books of the Old Testament undoubtedly we have several documents inextricably woven together. There are duplicate accounts, often contradictory, of the same event. There are stories of Jehovah which offend not only our moral sense but our common sense. The Psalms, though they constitute a treasure of devotional literature, raise endless questions as to date and authorship. In the Prophets we are soon lost in the problems of the Second Isaiah, The Suffering Servant, and The Son of Man.

Nor are we on safer ground in the New Testament. The student is confronted with the fragmentary character of the Gospel records, the dependence of one writer upon another and upon documents which have perished. We have also the difficulty of distinguishing between the words of Jesus and the interpretation of the evangelist. The recent purchase of the *Codex Sinaiticus* from the Russian Government has reminded us that the oldest copy of the New Testament in existence was written three and a half centuries after the events it describes took place.

These and other considerations make it clear that we are dealing with writings in which the fallible human element is everywhere apparent.

In what then lies the authority of the Church? Principal Oman reminds us of the suggestive fact that in an age when the written word was esteemed above everything, Jesus never wrote a word. That fact points to the kind of authority He desired for His church and the kind He did not desire. To the Church He committed the task of transmitting His teaching and interpreting His life, leaving many a precious word forgotten and many a gracious action misinterpreted. The Gospels were not written till, a generation having arisen who had not known Him, the spiritual needs of the Church required a record of His life. No one even then foresaw that a second volume was being added to the Bible. That book then is at once the work of the Church and the fruit of the preaching of the Gospel. Jesus promised the Church His spirit not a book. It follows that, far from being that which authenticates the truth of the Gospel it is from the Gospel that both Church and Bible draw their authority.

The authority of the Church is a delegated one. 'Ye shall receive power,' says Jesus, 'and ye shall be my witnesses.' Sabatier draws the distinction between the Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit. The fact is the religion of the Spirit is the religion of Authority. Did Jesus ever conceive the kind of authority the Church once enjoyed and after which certain sections hanker to-day, a Church armed and buttressed by powers that statesmen and diplomatists like to wield? The true genius of the Church lies not in any external authority but in pervasive influence that spreads its charm and radiance in every section of human society.

It may be said that such authority is subjective. We need not fear the word. Is not all religion subjective? He that seeketh findeth. God has made the search for spiritual benefits the very condition of their possession. Sabatier has given us another beautiful phrase: 'The collective consciousness of all good souls.' It may be that to rely on experiment and experience alone may lead to an exaggerated individualism. But the collective consciousness of all good souls is our check and our guide.

Finding, following, keeping, struggling,
Is He sure to bless?
Saints, Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs,
Answer yes.

The only authority of the Church is the authority of its head. 'All authority is given unto Me. . . . Go ye therefore and teach.' And yet we have to remember that we are in the school of Christ and the Lord may have many things to say unto us that we cannot bear now. Dean Inge in *Faith and its Psychology* says:

'It is not strictly correct to say that the Jesus of Nazareth whose mission terminated when He ceased to walk and teach in Galilee and Judaea is the primary ground of faith. To say so would be to adopt a static and not a dynamic view of faith. It would rivet our gaze on the past instead of the future. It would commit us to a pessimistic view of the course of history. It would fill us with disquieting doubts. For how can we base our faith on the sands of historical tradition which leaves us at the mercy of the good faith of reporters about whom we know little or nothing? The plan of the Incarnation was to initiate a movement, which in its entirety was to constitute a theophany in the life of humanity itself. The Christian embraces, or rather is, the whole of that movement by far the greater part of which is for us in the unknown future.'

Luke, in the opening verses of the Acts, speaks of the former treatise in which he had written of all that Jesus *began* to do and to teach. The implication is surely that the Acts is a record of all that Jesus *continued* to do and to teach. Nothing is more significant in this connexion than the unfinished character of the Acts. What an abrupt ending it has! Some have thought that Luke intended to write a third book and thus complete a trilogy. But the most suggestive thought is that the book is unfinished because the theme is unfinished. Christ is still doing and teaching through them that love Him. We must be prepared still to sit at His feet and if any man will to do His will he shall know. This then is the authority of the Church.

Then on each He setteth
His own secret sign.
They that have my spirit
These, saith He, are mine.

THOMAS DALE.

VARIETY IN ENGLISH MUSICAL TASTE

THOUGH the books discussed in this article differ widely in subject, they all directly or indirectly mirror English musical life. To the English music lover it is probable that at the moment Russian music is second in interest only to the great German classics. Both, it will be seen, are dealt with in recent new books. Then there is one on the brass band movement, which has a following that other spheres of musical activity must envy and which is yet curiously isolated from the main stream of culture. Lastly, there is Dame Ethel Smyth's new volume of autobiography.

M. D. Calvocoressi's and Gerald Abraham's *Masters of Russian Music* (Duckworth, 18s. 0d.) is a most welcome arrival. Hitherto English books on Russian music have been rather suspect as being unreliable and based upon French and German sources and not upon Russian ones. In this instance, however, the authors have gone direct to Russian material, of which a large amount has been available only in recent years. If the biographical side is stressed at the expense of the musical, it is natural. As is pithily remarked in a footnote, the not unimportant date of Tchaikovsky's birth is given incorrectly

in the abridged English edition of modest Tchaikovsky's *Life* of his brother. Ranging from Glinka to Scriabin, fourteen composers are treated, each author being responsible for seven lives, though Mr. Abraham has the greater portion of space. When the book was planned it was intended that the only living composer to be included should be Glazounov, who died just prior to its publication. If Glazounov is included, however, it is difficult to see why Rachmaninov and Medtner were also not honoured, since they both belong essentially to the pre-War era. Apart from that, the authors' decision was well advised, for it would have been an invidious task distinguishing between those of the Soviet régime and those of the emigré faction.

It will be interesting to see whether this book succeeds in correcting many current misconceptions regarding the history of Russian Music. It is usual, for example, to say that Russian music began with Glinka's first opera, *A Life for the Tsar*. Mr. Abraham, on the other hand, boldly writes that it 'contains nothing that could have shocked the most conservative audience. It is an amateur Italian opera, with a strongly Russian flavour, on a flamboyantly patriotic subject—a very remarkable achievement for a half-trained Russian gentleman in the 1830's but not, in spite of beautiful pages, a work of any great importance to the world in general. It should be regarded as the finest flower of the old dilettantism rather than as the first blossoming of "serious" Russian music which it is usually considered.' Glinka's second opera, however, is quite another thing. *Ruslan and Liudmila* 'is no mere Russianized Italian opera, like its predecessor, but a work almost of genius.' Glinka himself said more than once that he 'could have made ten operas like *A Life for the Tsar* out of *Ruslan*.' Some of its pages . . . are the prototype of all that is most characteristic in later Russian music. Unlike *A Life for the Tsar* it demands measurement not by local and contemporary, but by universal standards. With it the history of Russian music begins in earnest. Nevertheless the old legend will doubtless yet have a long life. This book may serve either as an encyclopædia or as a mine of good reading. The pity is that the senior author has thought it necessary to depart from the ordinary English way of transcribing Russian words. Dates are given according to both the Eastern and Western calendars.

'Is a new biography of Brahms really necessary?' asks Dr. Karl Geiringer. Of all the great composers we probably have most original material concerning Beethoven and Wagner. Of Brahmsiana there has been comparatively little. Brahms destroyed many letters that he had written and which had been returned to him, and also many manuscripts that had remained unpublished. Sir Donald Tovey has estimated that the published chamber music works of Brahms represent 'scarcely a quarter' of his output in that direction. Dr. Geiringer's *Brahms: His Life and Work* (Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.) is therefore necessary because it is based upon new documents. As Custodian of the Collections of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, he has been privileged to be the first to read a body of material deposited with that society under an agreement with Brahms's heirs. It consists

chiefly of letters written to Brahms by his parents, brother and sister, and some sketches and manuscripts, which show a few differences with the published copies. There is also a collection of the printed copies of his works that he kept and annotated against possible further editions.

Perhaps the most revealing of the new letters is that to Amalie Joachim regarding the misunderstandings that had arisen between her and her husband. 'You may, however, have noticed that in spite of our friendship of thirty years' standing, in spite of all my love and admiration for Joachim, in spite of all the mutual artistic interests which should bind me to him, I am always very careful in my intercourse with him, so that I rarely associate with him for long together or at all intimately, and I have never even thought of living in the same town and tying myself down to work with him. Now I hardly need tell you that I knew, even before you did, of the unhappy peculiarity with which Joachim torments himself and others in such an inexcusable way. Friendship and love I must be able to breathe as simply and freely as air. I take alarm when I encounter beautiful emotion in a complicated and artificial form, and the more so if it has to be maintained and enhanced by painfully morbid excitement . . . I have saved a small part of my friendship with Joachim by my caution; without this I should have lost all long ago.' At other times he temporarily broke with Hans von Bülow, Billroth, and Clara Schumann. Little light is thrown upon Brahms's methods of composition beyond that he attached great importance to sound treble and bass parts, a fact already known, and that he may have had everything in his head before setting pen to paper.

Every one desirous of a healthy English musical life should read *The Brass Band Movement* (Dent, 5s. Od.). It is in two parts: 'The Early History of the Movement' by John F. Russell and 'The Modern Brass Band and Its Music' by J. H. Elliot. This almost exclusively working-class movement is approximately one hundred years old, and all musicians, no matter what their particular sphere, should inquire into its aims and methods. It is astonishing how the improvement in brass instruments due to the invention of the valve system has been taken advantage of by those who, on account of the nature of their work or because they have been unable to take up study sufficiently early for the acquirement of proficiency or delicacy upon the violin, viola or violoncello, have remained apart from the ordinary world of music. But one should not patronize their endeavours. As Gustav Holst remarked, when Mr. Elliot suggested to him that the brass band movement had a great future before it, 'It has a great present, if only people would realize it.' To my mind two dangers beset the movement. First, participation in competitions may degenerate into vulgar pot-hunting, and, secondly, the great increase in broadcasting and gramophones, whereby every one is becoming acquainted with the greater instrumental variety and repertory of the symphony orchestra, may drive the brass band still further away from ordinary musical life. Those who have enjoyed, say, the Bach Brandenburg Concertos or Beethoven's Nine Symphonies will no longer want the operatic and

other selections that are the staple of brass band programmes. It is true that such composers as Elgar, Holst, Bantock, Ireland and Howells, have written works specially conceived for brass bands, but while they have been admirable as test-pieces for band contests, it is a moot point whether any of them have won their way into the established repertory. Of course, brass band musicians come into contact with the larger world of music when they are occasionally called upon to provide the extra brass required in works like Berlioz's *Messe des Morts*, and in one or two instances they have become permanent members of symphony orchestras.

As Time Went On (Longmans, 15s. 0d.) is a continuation to *Impressions that Remained*. Since that was published in 1919 Dame Ethel Smyth has written several books containing autobiographical essays, but this is the first to take up the narrative directly where her first book stopped. In dealing with it the music critic is at a disadvantage since she confesses that she writes for the general reader and not for the musician; but though the book is notable for its portraits of Lady Ponsonby and Vernon Lee and has sections devoted to letters written and received by the author, among which those of H. B. Brewster stand pre-eminent, Dame Ethel does tell us the history of her *Mass* (performed in 1893 and neglected until after the War) and gives her reasons why her music did not achieve the prominence she hoped it would. But I fear she deceives herself. She is handsome enough to attribute something to her own faults and defects, but suggests that the chief obstacles have been (1) that she is a woman, (2) that she received her musical education in Germany, and (3) that 'the machine' would have none of her. As to the first, I think her sex has had the reverse effect and has led to performances and publicity that, had she been a man, might not have been forthcoming. Secondly, she was not the only English composer of the nineteenth century to be trained in Germany: Sullivan, Parry and Stanford were others. Lastly, I admit that strings may have been pulled against her, but can she grumble at that, when she confesses that it was owing to her friendship with the ex-Empress Eugenie that her *Mass* reached its first performance? After all, Elgar probably had even greater barriers against him in his assault upon the musical world. The only one of her major works that I have not heard during the last fifteen years is *The Wreckers* and that I could have done if the dates of its production at Covent Garden had not clashed with other engagements. Dame Ethel must not accuse me of dishonesty when I confess I cannot admire her music wholeheartedly, though I shall be ready to reconsider it. Doubtless it is bitter for a composer to see her literary works winning greater renown than her musical ones, and she had indeed great courage in sitting down to the writing of this book when her hearing had gone. Unlike the late Sir Alexander Mackenzie, however, she has not reached old age to see her works pass entirely from the repertory.

MUSICUS.

Ministers in Council

REPORTS to hand from Associations and Study Circles show programmes of interesting scope.

MANCHESTER DISTRICTS' MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION. The Rev. J. F. Loveday, secretary of this Association, informs me that the fifth session will be held at New Mills on May 25, 26 and 27 next under the presidency of the Rev. C. J. Wright, B.D., Ph.D. The general subject for discussion will be 'The Gospel.' The book list appended to the syllabus includes the following: *The Mission and Message of Jesus* by Drs. Major, Manson and Wright (Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 12s. 6d.), Dr. Manson's *Teaching of Jesus*, Denny's *Jesus and the Gospel*, Dr. Findlay's *What did Jesus teach?*, C. Anderson Scott's *Christianity according to St. Paul*, Deissmann's *The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of St. Paul*, C. H. Dodd's *The Meaning of Paul to-day*. On the social application of the gospel are recommended *The Christian Ideal for Human Society* by Dr. Garvie (Hodder & Stoughton, 16s.), *God, Man and Society* by Demant (S.C.M., 6s.) and *Christianity and the Social State* by Dr. Lofthouse (3s. 6d.).

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NORTH WESTERN MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION. The next meetings of this Association will be held at the Mount Tabor Church, Birkenhead, from April 6 to 8. The president is the Rev. J. T. Wilkinson, M.A., B.D., and the secretary, the Rev. G. Harrison. The theme for consideration will be 'Evangelism' and special attention is to be paid to the methods of evangelism through fellowship and through the pastoral office. The bibliography furnished for members refers to N. Micklem's *What is the faith?* (Hodder & Stoughton), *A Christian Manifesto* by E. Lewis (S.C.M.), *The Apostolic Preaching* by C. H. Dodd (Hodder & Stoughton), *Group Movements through the Ages* by Canon Murray (Hodder & Stoughton), *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival* (Epworth Press), L. Dewar and C. E. Hudson's *A Manual of Pastoral Psychology* (Philip Allan) and O. Hardman's *The Christian Life*, Vol. 2, *Discipline* (S.P.C.K.).

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GRIMSBY STUDY CIRCLE. The Rev. H. Lee states that this group is studying the subject of 'Pastoral Practice' in preparation for the Fellowship of the Kingdom summer Conference. At the first meeting of the season under the leadership of the Rev. P. Madge, an historical survey was sketched by the members. The Rev. James Bullock dealt with 'The ministry of Jesus to individuals.' The period of 'The Church in New Testament Times' was included in papers by the Revs. W. W. Ion, H. Lee, E. Smith and H. Johnson. 'Early Methodist practice' was assigned to the Rev. J. J. Perry. Subsequent meetings are to discuss 'Pastoral practice to-day.'

SCUNTHORPE POLYGON. From the secretary, the Rev. L. C. Barker, we hear that there was a record attendance at its first quarterly session this season. At the morning meetings Henri Bergson's *Two Sources of Religion and Morality* is being studied. After an introduction of the first part of the book by Mr. Barker, a lively conversation centred round Bergson's distinction of 'closed' and 'open' morality. At the afternoon session the Rev. J. Gorton gave a helpful summary of *The Parables of the Kingdom* by C. H. Dodd. A comparison was made by members between the views expressed by Dr. Dodd and those of Dr. Manson in *The Teaching of Jesus*.

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ADULT RELIGIOUS EDUCATION. Following upon the report in the last issue of this 'Review' of work being done for adult religious education in the county of Nottingham through the University College there, I am glad to be able, from information since received, to refer to the vigorous Extra-Mural department of the University College, Southampton. This department has activities that cover Hampshire, and extend to Dorset and East Sussex. Professor A. A. Cock is continuing this year a course on 'The Philosophy of Religion' at Horsham. The Rev. R. Martin Pope, M.A., B.D., also recently commenced at Horsham a series of lectures on 'Early Christian Life and Literature.' Last year he gave there twenty lectures on 'The Literary and Historical Study of the Bible.' It is cheering to learn that with an increased number of divinity students in the College, the importance of Biblical and theological studies is being more fully recognized, not only within the College but also in the neighbouring district. It would be a pleasure to hear of work of this kind being done in other localities.

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INSTITUTE OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION. Arising out of a conference of 250 teachers (university, secondary and elementary) on the subject of Christian education at home and overseas, the suggestion was made that there should be founded an Institute of Christian Education. Many schools in this country were visited and the situation was discussed with hundreds of teachers. The investigation revealed the desire for systematic help in a variety of ways. Above all, it was proved that there was dissatisfaction with much of the religious education now being given. It therefore appeared that the time was ripe for action and that the needs which had been manifested could only be met by a body such as the Institute which would seek to encourage individual and co-operative endeavour on the part of the educational authorities and religious organizations. A previously formed Association of Teachers of Religious Knowledge decided last year, with its 900 members, to become a component part of the Institute. The President is the Archbishop of York and the Vice-presidents are Sir Henry Hadow, LL.D., D.Mus., and the Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, D.D., C.H. The Rev. Canon Tissington Tatlow, D.D., consented to act as Director and Honorary Secretary pro tem. Headquarters have been opened at 49 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

The journal of the Institute is a very live organ named *Religion in Education* published by the Student Christian Movement Press quarterly at 1s. 6d. per copy. To its first number Lord Irwin (President of the Board of Education) contributed an article on 'Education and Religion,' and Dr. Scott Lidgett wrote on 'The Modern Universities and Religious Training.' The subsequent issues have shown the organizers to be successfully endeavouring to carry out one of the aims of the Institute, viz. 'to provide information about literature on religious education suited to different types of schools and for pupils of different ages; information about societies assisting teachers by providing courses of study or summer schools on religious knowledge; information about societies concerned with any aspect of the teaching of religion; and information of experiments in methods of promoting religion in the schools.' Not the least useful of its articles are those written by teachers engaged in the work of religious instruction.

Here is an organization which is evidently bound to count for much in the sphere of religious education in day schools and colleges. Branches are being formed all over the country, and we should be interested in having accounts of its local activities from any reader.

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METHODIST BI-CENTENARY AND A METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. World-wide Methodism is bestirring itself in preparation for a worthy celebration in 1938 of the 200th anniversary of that profound experience in John Wesley's life which led to the birth of Methodism. In America plans are, it is understood, well advanced for signalizing that event in an extensive and deeply impressive way. British Methodists are eagerly looking forward to the lead which will be publicly given when the Conferentially appointed Committee reports its suggestions. It is a peculiarly happy circumstance that in this land the rejoicings will find the followers of John Wesley united. Arising out of that, should we not be fully magnifying the grace of God which gave us Wesley if, in anticipation of 1938, we thought of all who in his spirit and that of his early preachers have so mightily carried on the work that he began? In the biographies, histories, magazines and manuscripts extant amongst the three sections of British Methodism now united, we have rich treasure trove awaiting exploration for this purpose. In the past much has been done for the Mother Church of Methodism by the Wesley Historical Society. Would not this be an opportune time for suggesting the consideration by this society of a yet greater task? Might it not become a *Methodist* Historical Society, revelling in the records of Methodist pioneering of the nineteenth, as well as of the eighteenth, century that would have delighted the heart of Wesley, and making available all denominational lore that can still set the pulse beating in holy pride concerning the saints of old? Might not a common joy in the re-discovery of our own distinctive hagiology tend still further to unite us?

I shall be glad to receive further reports and also comments on any subject suitable for these columns.

10 Mainwaring Road,
Lincoln.

W. E. FARNDALE.

Recent Literature

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The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments. By C. Harold Dodd. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s.)

The most vigorous movement in the whole field of New Testament study during the post-war years has been that known as Form-criticism. For some years it swept all before it in Germany but attracted very little notice in this country. During the last eight or nine years we have suffered almost a surfeit of books and articles on the subject. But whilst the analytic and negative aspects of this process have absorbed a degree of attention altogether out of proportion to their value, one or two English writers have been quick to detect the one element of positive value in Form-criticism. An excellent example of this is to be found in Professor C. H. Dodd's lectures given before the University of London at King's College in the autumn of 1935. Eighteen years have now passed since Martin Dibelius of Heidelberg called attention to the evidence we have in the Pauline Epistles of a primitive Christian *kerygma*, or preaching, which evidently followed a definite scheme, such as that set forth in 1 Corinthians xv. 1 ff. One of the most interesting results of these lectures by Professor Dodd is the proof furnished that 'a comparison of Paul and Acts enables us to trace the essential elements to a very early date indeed.' But the argument is carried on and we find how a connecting thread runs through much of the narrative of Mark, enabling us to see that the story of Jesus is closely parallel to the summary of that story given in Acts x and xiii. It may therefore be regarded as 'an expanded form of what may be called the historical section of the *kerygma*.' But this preaching of the primitive Church had an eschatological setting. How far does this represent the original teaching of Jesus, and how far can we trace not only in the Epistles and Apocalypse but even in the Synoptic Gospels a reconstructed eschatology? Readers of Professor Dodd's earlier book, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, will be interested in the way that he develops his argument that gradually a futurist eschatology was substituted for a realized eschatology, and that this modification of the primitive tradition of the teaching of Jesus and of the preaching of the primitive Church had made some progress before the tradition was embodied in the written Gospels. On the other hand in Paul's letters, and still more in the Gospel according to John, we can trace the sublimation of eschatology into a distinctive kind of mysticism. The preacher who wants to know how the labour of criticism and interpretation can help him in his task of discovering just what was the apostolic preaching, and how he may proclaim it in contemporary terms to his

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own age, will find much to guide and encourage him in this quest. At the same time he will be left to do a good deal of thinking for himself. The lazy preacher who goes to books for ready-made sermons must not turn to Professor Dodd in his distress. Finally, there is an appendix, which reprints a presidential address given to the Oxford Society of Historical Theology upon the theme, Eschatology and History. This masterly essay, while not an integral part of the book, is closely related to one of the main subjects under discussion, and forms a fitting epilogue.

W. F. HOWARD.

Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians. By P. N. Harrison, M.A., D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 21s. net.)

This very elaborate examination of the whole problem of Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians seeks to establish the theory that the Epistle is really composed of two letters. One letter, it is suggested, is a brief note, consisting of what we call the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of the Epistle. It was written while Polycarp was still awaiting news of the martyrdom of Ignatius, and was despatched, along with a batch of the letters of Ignatius, probably within a week or two of Ignatius leaving Philippi on his way to Rome. The other letter, consisting of chapters one to twelve, was written some twenty years later, after the name of Ignatius and the story of his martyrdom had become a memory of the past. A great many other questions are affected by Dr. Harrison's theory, through the bearing upon them of the date of Polycarp's Epistle, such as the period of the martyrdom of Ignatius; the collection of the Pauline Epistles and the general acceptance of them as the work of St. Paul; the authorship of the Catholic Epistles; the Johannine problem; the whole question of the establishment of the canon of the New Testament; and finally the question of Marcion, and the false teachers at Philippi. The New Testament questions arise, of course, because there is no other writing of so supposedly early a date in which we find allusions to 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and 2 Thessalonians, as well as to 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, and the Pastoral Epistles. On the purely textual issue it is probably significant that in all the Greek manuscripts the last five chapters are wanting, and the text runs on from a broken sentence of the ninth chapter to the middle of a sentence from the fifth chapter of the Epistle of Barnabas, which is then continued to the end. This shows, as Dr. Harrison remarks, that something very curious happened, at least as far back as the archetype of these manuscripts, though in Lightfoot's opinion that archetype was faulty, and not very early. It would take a score of pages to examine even cursorily the whole of Dr. Harrison's argument. It must suffice to say that he has made out what is, in my judgement, a convincing case, and in doing so has raised afresh a great many issues that will probably occupy scholars, and New Testament experts in particular, for a long time to come.

HENRY BETT.

Jesus According to St. John. By J. O. F. Murray. (Longmans, 15s.)

Dr. J. O. F. Murray deserves the gratitude of all true students of the New Testament for the loving fidelity by means of which he salved so much of the unpublished work of the great Professor Hort. He has also written many books of his own, of which the latest represents studies 'worked out in connexion with many different classes of pupils in the course of the last fifty years. They have taken shape during the last twenty-five years in "Bible Studies" written for the *Lay Reader Magazine*.' This indicates fairly well the kind of reader for whom this book was written. Generous reference is made in the preface to some recent books which set forth the lines which recent criticism of the Gospel has followed. But it is very evident that Dr. Murray was so deeply impressed by the great Cambridge trio more than half a century ago that nothing that he has read since has made any serious impression upon his mind. It is rather more surprising that he should say, 'I wish I could have had access earlier to Dr. J. H. Bernard's *International Critical Commentary*, and to the fragments, all too few, of Scott Holland's lecture notes.' As the former was published eight years ago and the latter first appeared in 1920, we may assume that this book virtually represents a study of the Fourth Gospel written before this veteran scholar had devoted himself to the more recent literature on the Gospel. The great merit of the book is that it is a devotional study of the profoundest of the Gospels written largely under the influence of Hort's Hulsean Lectures, *The Way, the Truth and the Life*, and of a book by Hort's master, F. D. Maurice, *Sermons on the Gospel of St. John*. It may well be that some readers will feel that the underlying critical assumptions are such as they cannot accept in the light of all the discussions that have raged round this Gospel since the days when Lightfoot and Westcott argued for the full Johannine authorship. But no one can read this book without feeling that many a deep saying of the Evangelist has become luminous as the Gospel is studied once again under the reverent guidance of Dr. Murray.

W. F. HOWARD.

Sri Swami Narayana, A Gospel of Bhagvat-Dharma, or God in Redemptive Action. By Bhai Manilal C. Parekh. (Harmony House, Rajkot, India. 8s.)

In A.D. 1781 a Brahmin boy, named Ganshyama, was born in North India. At the age of eleven he disappeared, and his family heard nothing of him for a generation. For seven years he wandered from one end of India to the other. He sought God alike in the Himalayas, in the forests, and at the great sacred places. At the age of eighteen he reached Kathiawad, in the West of India, a Yogi indeed. 'This Yogi has yellow hair on his head, a big Tulsi bead round his neck, a girdle round his waist, a deer-skin, a rosary, a kerchief, a piece of cloth for filtering water, and a small MS. He does not take any solid food, and so all the veins in his body look green in colour; nor does there seem

to be any blood in his body, and if a woman's shadow approaches him, he vomits.' This is a quotation from a letter to the head of a local sect, Swami Ramananda. The latter at once said that he for whom he had been waiting had come. Two years later, when Ramananda died, he left the lad of twenty as head of his movement. There was some opposition, but it died away. For thirty years the new Swami held absolute sway over a growing mass of followers. When he died in 1830, an Englishman wrote that 'one wail, loud and piercing and bitter, rang throughout Gujarat.' The number of his community to-day 'runs into some hundreds of thousands.' He was called in his life-time and he is called to-day 'Narayana,' and he taught that this is the best name for God. Our author, who is a student of all religions and knows the New Testament well, believes that Narayana was an incarnation of God, and sets him side by side with Jesus. No one, least of all one who knows the India of his period, can read the story of his life without wondering at his goodness. It is not on the philosophical side that his teaching is remarkable. Here there is nothing particularly original. For the student of Hinduism it will be enough to say that Narayana sides with Ramanuja, as against Shankara. In other words, he falls within the Bhakti school. Yet it ought to be added that he taught that anyone who lived in spiritual fellowship with him, escaped the endless hells and transmigrations that orthodox Hinduism proclaims so remorselessly, and at death passed at once to the bliss of heaven. His followers still believe that when they die Narayana himself comes to take them to final glory. Many of them have claimed that they have seen him come. Even in his life-time this was so. Again, there is nothing peculiar in the claim that he worked many miracles, though the better authenticated of them provide excellent material for the student of the miraculous. Here too, however, one must add a qualification. Probably no one in history has put so many people into trance (Samadhi). Here one thinks of hypnotism, but usually the patients forget what happens to them in the hypnotic state, while here they remembered—they saw Narayana himself in his glory and emerged convinced disciples. Yet there were disciples who had never fallen into trance. Once more, it is true that Narayana possessed the organizing gift in a degree that is unusual among Hindus. Yet organization alone doesn't produce devotees. Something may be put down to the fact that normally Narayana, in spite of his own ascetic youth, did not demand from his followers an extreme ascetic discipline as the path to 'heaven.' Here, especially for the Sadhus as distinct from lay disciples, his requirements might seem extravagant to the West, but they would not seem so to the East. And even the laity might pass straight to bliss. We come nearer, however, to this leader's secret when we notice the strong ethical and humanitarian elements in his teaching. This doesn't mean that it is wholly ethical. In the 'Epistle of Precepts' (*Shiksha Patri*), for instance, which is printed as an appendix to the book, there is a blend of ritual and ethical rules that contrasts obviously enough with the Sermon on the Mount. None the less

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Narayana declared against infanticide and *sati*, mitigated caste, protected widows, taught universal brotherliness, and sent his disciples to preach his message, 'turning the other cheek' when any wronged or persecuted them. Narayana practised what he preached. This brings us to his secret—though not to the explanation of it. As one reads, one thinks sometimes of Epictetus, and oftener still of Francis of Assisi. This Hindu had the same personal charm as Francis, the same lowliness, the same delight in simply serving humble men. Yet—and here is the paradox—he believed that he was one of the three supreme incarnations of God. The author of the book has also written on Keshub Chunder Sen and Ram Mohan Roy, but, as he says, these leaders, like Gandhi, learnt much from Christianity. It seems certain that Narayana knew nothing of Christ. He is the last fine flower of unalloyed Hinduism. Both students of that faith, and all who are interested in the biographies of men of religious genius, will find it well worth their while to ask their bookseller to send for a copy of this book from Rajkot.

C. RYDER SMITH.

Contemporary Indian Philosophy. Essays edited by S. Radhakrishnan, D.Litt., and J. H. Muirhead, LL.D., F.B.A. (George Allen & Unwin. 16s. net.)

Where fourteen writers combine, it is not possible to give notice in a short review to individual contributors, and it is scarcely fair to select such well known names as Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, and Radhakrishnan, all of whom are represented, though Gandhi is content with a single page, and neglect the others. One must try to characterize the book as a whole, and this is easier than would be the case with a similar symposium of Western writers, for here there is far more general agreement than we should find amongst them. Indian philosophy is older in lineage than our own. It is simply the fact that it has always been a kind of philosophical theology that has obscured its importance in Western eyes. The writers of this volume have knowledge of the more independent and variously inspired philosophies of the West, and it is interesting to see the influence of that knowledge. In the main, a sentence from Professor Ranade's essay sums up the general standpoint of the book as a whole—'Spiritual life has been my aim from the beginning of my philosophic career.' Religion, God, Spirit, the Infinite, the soul, are all far more in evidence than would be the case in Western philosophy. The essential spirituality, and the pantheistic outlook of India are deeply written here. One writer, Professor Wadia, speaks of the problem of evil as his fundamental philosophical problem, but he tells us that his ethical interest is a direct legacy of his childhood in a Parsi home. The stress upon morality is a characteristic feature of Zoroastrianism. That is no doubt why Professor Wadia calls his standpoint Pragmatic Idealism. Professor Chatterji calls his contribution Commonsense Empiricism, but even he is concerned with religion much more than

our British empiricists have usually been—‘Philosophy is merely my theory of Reality, Religion is the total response of my whole personality towards this same reality.’ Most of the writers are more or less under the influence of Absolute Idealism, whether of Hegel’s type or not, and considering the affinities of that type of thought with India’s traditional way of approach to philosophical problems, this is not strange. There is also evidence of the traditional tolerance of Hinduism, its capacity of embracing opposites, in most of these essays. The editors claim, one thinks rightly, that the familiar charges of unpracticality and pessimism cannot justly be made against most of the contributors. It should be remembered that most of the writers, however, have had Western education, in several cases in England or America. Bhagavan Das, brought up in Benares, places in his credo all the leading ideas of Hinduism, rebirth, karma, infinite cycles of existence, the Oversoul embracing all individual souls and so forth. If these ideas are less explicitly stated by other contributors they are none the less implicit in their minds. The book as a whole is valuable and interesting. The neglect of Eastern philosophy by the West is quite inexcusable, save on the plea that it has been somewhat inaccessible. It is to be hoped that this sample will create the demand for more writings of Indian thinkers to supplement the valuable contribution that Professor Radhakrishnan has already made by his own works, and so give us a better idea of an approach to the same problems we study, from an altogether unfamiliar angle.

E. S. WATERHOUSE.

Causation, Freedom and Determinism. By Mortimer Taube, Ph.D. (George Allen & Unwin. 10s. net.)

Of discussions on Causation, Freedom and Determinism there is no end, and, probably, never will be an end as long as man is man in this orderly universe. On the one hand, man cannot escape his immediate experience of ‘freedom’: and even if, on metaphysical grounds, he tries to argue against it, he cannot do so otherwise than on the basis of his own interior consciousness. The notion of ‘freedom’ is only gained from our direct consciousness: to argue against it, therefore, is like arguing for one’s non-existence. On the other hand, man cannot escape the fact that he is living in a universe of empirical uniformities. There is what he calls an ‘order’ in Nature—an order which he knows is not of his *determining*, but only of his *discovering*. Science—which we may define as ‘organized knowledge’—bears testimony not only to the endeavour of man to classify into what he calls ‘laws’ the observed facts in the universe, but also to the fact that these observed facts are *amenable to classification*. Henri Poincaré said that ‘Science is made with facts, as a house with stones, but a heap of facts is no more a science than is a heap of stones a house.’ Which is, of course, true. But the very fact that man can construct an orderly ‘house’ shows that Nature herself is orderly. Indeed, if it were not so the universe would cease to be. What, then, is the

meaning of this order? Does it involve 'determinism?' Or how is it related to the concept of 'causation?' These are some of the questions which Dr. Mortimer Taube, a young research student in philosophy at the University of California, has set himself to answer in what is probably an academic thesis under the above title. The subtitle indicates clearly enough the scope and aim of the book—'An attempt to solve the causal problem through a study of its origins in seventeenth-century philosophy.' The first part of the book is largely a historical study in the ambiguity of the three terms employed: here the views of Hobbes, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz and Malebranche are discussed. The interesting thesis is maintained that seventeenth-century determinism was really a deduction from the doctrine of Divine omnipotence and omniscience. Later scientific determinism, the author maintains, inherited this dogmatism; which is, thus, 'little more than a theological relic masquerading as a pronouncement of science.' The author has little to say about the inner significance of this 'theological relic'; he seems quite confident, however, that it is a 'relic,' and that, having been discarded by all intelligent men, its scientific masquerade should also be discarded. On the basis of these views, Dr. Taube in the second part of his book seeks to establish a theory of Causation based directly on the empirical fact of power; leading to some kind of universal pluralism, or animism, where, as we are told on the dust-cover, every *res vera* can be understood as a free agent and an active factor in the world process. This view of the causal relation requires, as the author recognizes, that all substances are capable of 'feeling.' All substances being capable of feeling, 'material substance,' we are told, cannot exist. This is essential Berkeleyanism, as the author seeks to maintain in an Appendix. 'There is not the slightest reason for assuming the existence of non-sentient or extended substance.' The book is acutely written, if with a certain dogmatic pertness which need not be taken too seriously when the age of the author (25) is remembered. Its value would have been enhanced if the writer had confronted the refusals of such scientists as Max Planck and Einstein to recognize the validity of the type of 'indeterminism' sponsored by, for example, Professor Eddington to whom frequent reference is made. Of this refusal, however—one of the most significant factors in modern scientific and philosophical discussion—the book indicates no acquaintance. It is, however, to be welcomed as symptomatic of the serious endeavour of our time to scrutinize the meaning and implications of scientific and theological heritages bequeathed to us from the past. The way to fuller *rapprochement* between scientific and religious thought will be found when we learn to ask the right kind of question, and in the right kind of way. In the belief that this book asks, at least, the right kind of question I should like to commend it to serious readers.

C. J. WRIGHT.

The Christian Faith. By Alfred E. Garvie, D.D. (Duckworth & Co. 5s. net.)

Within its compass of two hundred odd pages, this is a standard work, a little gem of Christian declaration and devotion that should find a proud place on many a bookshelf, both of the student and the devout intelligent Christian. Dr. Harrison, as Editor of Duckworth's Theology Series, is to be congratulated on securing the ripe scholarship and devout and long experience of Dr. Garvie in this latest work from his ready pen. It is the review of a personal experience of Christ set out with clarity and conviction. The book is modern in its outlook and method, but the truth declared keeps more closely to 'the faith once delivered to the Saints' than much which is advanced as modern theology, not on the ground of any dogmatic prejudice, but because of a personal experience of the grace of Christ, which is the object of the Christian faith. The express purpose of the book is simply put by Dr. Garvie: 'I have written not a creed for the acceptance of others, but a confession of the content of the Christian faith as I have made it my own in the exercise of that faith.' It is plain that his experience has been a glorious adventure, and here is offered the ripe results with the hope that some help may come to others in the same greatest of life's adventures. It is meant to help in the winning of an assured faith and not with any intention of imposing a creed. The volume tingles with the glow of the assurance of 'the Gospel of the glory of the blessed God.' God and the World is followed by the consideration at the centre of the book of Christ and the Cross, then the Spirit and the Church, and on to the final and practical issue of Duty and Destiny. The book closes as it begins with the glow of assurance, the certainty that the Church triumphant and the Church militant are so united that even 'the narrow stream of death' cannot divide, and their song is ours.

W. G. THORNAL BAKER.

The Foundations of Christian Faith. By John A. Bain, M.A., D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 4s. net.)

Before defining Christian faith Dr. Bain speedily clears the ground. It does not consist in a creed, a system of doctrine, a Church, or an intellectual conception of doctrines. For the Christian the primal stuff of faith is trust in God as revealed in Jesus Christ. Such trust involves the surrender of the personality to God. Personality contains four great elements: intellect, emotion, conscience and will. 'The first step (of the prodigal) towards the Father's home in which the will comes into play completes the faith.' Further, what life, in its numberless stages, has needed has always been available. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to presume that in the highest reaches of the human personality there will be a fitting environment for it and an adequate response to its demands. A personality needs a personal environment for its highest development: it needs God. So we are warranted in accepting the objective existence of God.

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When the soul feels the need of God and makes the venture of faith it is confirmed in its trust by an experience of God. There is next a discussion, in their relation to Christian faith, of the place of miracles, the resurrection of Christ, prophecy, the Bible, the Church, and dogma. Upon each of these themes the author has something interesting to say, though his space is very limited. The ultimate source of religious certainty and of Christian faith is the witness of the Spirit, or as called by the Society of Friends the inner light, or by others Christian consciousness. Finally, the Christian's faith in God is faith in Him as revealed in Jesus Christ, and so the book closes by an analysis of certain elements in the personality of Jesus. There is material in this book that is worthy of expansion into a much larger volume. Though as the book stands it is a triumph of concise statement and cogent reasoning.

W. R. CHAPMAN.

The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected : A Study of the Arahan. By I. B. Horner, M.A. (Williams & Norgate. 12s. 6d.)

Mrs. Rhys Davids has been ploughing a lonely furrow for some years, trying to persuade us that the orthodox conception of the teaching of the Buddha, taken from comparatively late sources, represents its degeneration not its originality. If we had no record of the Sermon on the Mount we should not get a particularly accurate account of it by reading the Fathers, and that is not an altogether unfair parallel to the notion that the Milinda dialogues and Buddhaghosa's commentaries must represent what Gotama himself taught. It is good to find that Miss Horner has come to a position not dissimilar to that of Mrs. Rhys Davids, and this careful and scholarly study is an attempt to unravel the twisted skeins to find the original threads of truth in them. Like all other religious teaching, Buddhism developed. Miss Horner appreciates the fact that it had an Indian background, that it was not an entirely fresh gospel but part of the same reaction we find in some of the Upanishads. The very word arahan is as old as the Vedas, and before Buddhism arose had come to bear a technical sense. How that sense was developed in the history of Buddhism is the burden of her book. But it is almost a new thing to see any writer on Buddhism treating this arahan belief, the belief, that is, of human perfectibility on earth, as not ready-made in the original stratum but as developing in answer to a need. The Mahayana school adopted the Bodhisattva ideal instead of the arahan, but Mahayana Buddhism recognized abundant hells and heavens through which the soul could continue its discipline. The older school abandoned the notion of religious progress in worlds to come, looked at the present life as a vale of woe, and so was driven by sheer force of circumstances to stress a contracted idea of perfectibility as attainable on earth in arahanship. Miss Horner has written a valuable book, a successor to and an advance upon her earlier book on Women under Primitive Buddhism, and such careful inductive research deserves notice from all interested in the subject.

E. S. WATERHOUSE.

Freedom, Love and Truth: An Anthology of the Christian Life. By W. R. Inge. (Longmans. 12s. 6d.)

This anthology is distinguished by a notable introduction to a comprehensive scheme illustrating The Necessity of Religion, God, Jesus Christ, The Fruits of the Spirit, The Inner Life, Life's Pilgrimage, The Journey's End, Holy Seasons, and Worship and Sacraments. In his aim to provide a volume representative of Christian piety Dr. Inge has ranged in pastures rich and rare. And his selections reflect that mysticism which is 'the living heart of religion' and which 'springs from a deeper level than the differences which divide the ages of history.' It is good to be reminded that 'Time' disappears in the life of devotion: that 'Christendom is already united in the chambers where good men pray,' or rather in a region where it has never been divided. Here lies the genius of a collection garnered from many sources including the writings of St. Augustine, Ruysbroek, Henry Suso, Julian of Norwich, Lancelot Andrewes, Jeremy Taylor, the Cambridge Platonists, William Law, Baron von Hügel, Bosanquet, J. S. Haldane, and A. N. Whitehead, who believes that the fact of the religious vision, and its history of persistent expansion, is our one ground for optimism. Many poets are also represented from Spenser to Alice Meynell and Julian Grenfell. Dr. Inge's own predilections inevitably emerge, particularly in extracts from works informed by Platonic philosophy—that 'old loving nurse' of Christian theology. As examples of parallels between the thought of St. Paul and that of Plato he notes, 'The things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal,' as Platonism in a nutshell, and that the Platonic words 'fellowship,' 'participation,' and 'presence' are all in St. Paul. He notes, too, that the chain is continued through the Fourth Gospel, Clement and Origen, the Cappadocian Fathers, Augustine and others, and Aubrey Moore's claim that the 'Incarnation' rather than the 'Atonement' is now the central doctrine in Anglican theology. Dr. Inge stresses the importance of the Fourth Gospel in the history of the Church, the new fragment of which suggests a date not long after A.D. 100, and later than the genuine epistles of St. Paul. 'It spiritualises and universalises the narrative of Christ's ministry' and shows 'a clear intention to substitute an evolutionary for a catastrophic view of the work of the Holy Spirit in the world.' He claims that Christ Himself stated most clearly the fundamental principle of Christian social reform: 'all reformation must proceed from within, by a change of heart in the individual,' and that a Christian's concern is with 'motives and ideals,' not with political action. He feels, moreover, that our whole outlook on the future has been altered by 'the abandonment' of early expectations of the return of Christ in glory, and by 'the confident belief that the human race, still in its childhood, will be in existence many thousands of years hence.' This new outlook invests the future with greater value and 'calls to a purely disinterested ambition to prepare for whatever possibilities of advance there may be for our descendants.' And here he thinks the Church

has much to learn from science and from humanism. In matters of self-discipline he holds that the Christian must be in training all his life: the good life is a life of unified purposes, not of gratified instincts, and the passions must be taught to come to heel. This anthology has significance as an estimate of values. Of the quotations from Milton, Dr. Inge considers that 'Blest pair of Sirens' and 'Hail, holy light' reach the high-water mark not only of English but of any poetry, and the best of Spenser's is almost as beautiful as Milton's. High tribute is paid to the quaintness and charm of George Herbert and Henry Vaughan, who represent Anglicanism at its best, and to Keble and Newman, two 'real poets' of the Tractarian movement. Neither the Wesleys nor Isaac Watts are represented but more surprising is the omission of John Donne, a poet of a singularly deep experience and the most illustrious of all the deans of St. Paul. The anthology, however, is enriched by Sir Thomas Mallory's story of the repentance and death of Launcelot and Guinevere, the Bunyan extracts, the long excerpts from Richard Hele's *Select Offices for Private Devotion*, Benjamin Whichcote's 'Aphorisms,' and 'The Beatitudes' by W. P. Du Bose, which insists that it is not environment, but our *reaction* upon environment that blesses or curses us. Few will read unmoved 'The Death of Monica' and there are beautiful prayers to which most readers will often return.

B. AQUILA BARBER.

An Interpretation of Christian Ethics. By Reinhold Niebuhr.
(S.C.M.P. 6s.)

It is a great pity that this fourth Rauschenbusch Foundation publication should bear such an unimaginative though strictly correct title, for it is likely to cause the book to be overlooked or disregarded. And, emphatically, neither attitude ought to be taken. Professor Niebuhr, judging by this book, is what the publishers claim for him—'one of the prophetic voices of America.' Here is a work that is fresh, penetrating and, in the best sense, challenging. It is packed with ideas, closely-knit in its argument and really profound in its estimation of certain currents of thought. Because of this, it is more than ordinarily regrettable that some of the sentences are so long and involved, and that some arguments are over-elaborated, while others are not adequately developed. But this apart, this work, though slight, is a notable contribution to the study of Christian Ethics. The main problem of the book is that of understanding what is demanded of men by the Christian ethic, situated as they are in an evil world—the relation of Christian 'absolutistic' ethics to human affairs and experience. Professor Niebuhr examines the Orthodox and Liberal estimates of religion and ethics and makes out a claim for 'mythical' religion. He is persuaded that only the religion of myth—'prophetic religion'—has a proper message and is of the opinion that the Orthodox and Liberal estimates capitulate, in regard to the Christian ideal, either to other-worldliness or to the culture of the age, and this because they

lack any real faith in transcendence. Professor Niebuhr pleads for the recognition of religious and ethical tension between the transcendent and the historical. He is convinced that it is not in man to save himself and that it is impossible for him to realize the ideal, though he can approximate to it. Thus he speaks of the impossible possibility of the Christian ideal, a seeming nonsensical phrase. Yet his position cannot be dismissed in this fashion. Unlike many others who have asserted the impossibility of realizing the Christian ideal, Professor Niebuhr gives other and better reasons for his statement, particularly with reference to the law of love. This he applies to the question of politics where, he maintains, orthodox Christianity has singularly failed, being 'determined by ideals of justice which were informed by reverence for the principle of order rather than by the attraction of the ideal of love.' But this is not all. The Christian ideal is impossible because of 'the contingencies of nature and the sin in the human heart.' Though here bordering on a dangerous doctrine, the author maintains the saneness of his position in the words, 'We may never realize equality, but we cannot accept the inequalities of capitalism or any other unjust social system complacently.' There are many interesting comments here and there on Marxism, Capitalism, Pacifism, Buchmanism and Demonism. A notable book.

T. W. BEVAN.

Supplement to Peake's Commentary—Edited by Principal
A. J. Grieve, M.A., D.D. (T. C. & E. C. Jack. 2s. net.)

The Preface states clearly the aim of this Supplement: 'In the following pages an attempt has been made to indicate the principal developments in Biblical study since the *Commentary* was first published in 1919. It has naturally taken the form of a series of surveys of the literature that has appeared during the intervening years.' Dr. A. J. Grieve and his collaborators have given to us a most valuable addition to *Peake's Commentary*—one which was much needed, and will be of great service to all students of the Bible. The list of the articles will show the subjects dealt with in this Supplement: 'The Old Testament—Canon, Text, Chronology, Religion,' 'Biblical Archaeology,' 'The Exodus: Its Date and Route,' 'The Pentateuch,' 'Prophecy and the Prophets,' 'Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles,' 'The Psalms and Wisdom Literature,' 'The New Testament, Chronology and Canon,' 'The Language of the New Testament,' 'Text and Textual Criticism of the New Testament,' 'The Life and Teaching of Jesus,' 'The Synoptic Problem,' 'The Gospel According to John,' 'Asia Minor in the New Testament,' 'Acts, The Epistles and Revelation.' There is also a list of *Corrigenda*, which will enable the reader to rectify mistakes in *Peake's Commentary*. The list of the contributors will be a guarantee of the value of the articles: The Editor, Dr. J. W. Jack, Dr. H. Wheeler Robinson, Dr. W. L. Wardle, Dr. W. F. Howard, Dr. W. M. Calder, Dr. Vincent Taylor and Mr. H. G. Wood. It will be a great aid to all students of the Bible to possess this supplementary

vo'ume: for during the last seventeen years—since the publication of *Peake's Commentary*—much advance has been made in Biblical scholarship through the new light which has been shed upon old problems. This new work will be most useful to all who desire to know what progress has been made. It will be of incalculable help to many. We greatly admire the skilful way in which the contributors have done their work. We believe that the mentioning of the subjects dealt with, and of the names of the contributors, will commend this work to our readers. It will certainly be of great service to the writer of this short review, and to a host of others.

W. BARDSLEY BRASH.

Worship. By Evelyn Underhill. (Nisbet & Co. 10s. 6d.)

Miss Underhill has written a most beautiful book, a noble contribution to the 'Library of Constructive Theology,' worthy to stand with the best in that important series. The writer's aim in this volume is to interpret rather than criticize, to find with the patience and discernment of her catholic mind the realities of adoration, self-oblation, and dependence in the various forms of Christian cultus, ritual, sacrament, and symbol. Jewish, Catholic, Orthodox, Anglican, Free Church, and Quaker forms are discussed with sympathy and understanding, her wish being 'to show all these as chapels of various types in the one cathedral of the Spirit, and dwell on the particular structure of each, the love which has gone to their adornment, the shelter they offer to many different kinds of adoring souls, not to dwell on the shabby hassocks, the crude pictures, or the paper flowers.' Each great form of Christian cultus is here regarded, to use an Ignatian simile, as a contemplation 'to procure the love of God,' for its object is to lead human souls by different ways to that act of pure adoration which is the consummation of worship. Unerringly Miss Underhill moves, illustrating her rich conceptions of worship, and discovering in this and that the genuine and authentic note of pure religion. Alive throughout to the dangers and the degradations possible in the externalizing and socializing of the things of the Spirit, the writer is nevertheless courageous enough to face the essential fact of Christianity, namely that it is an incarnational religion, and that man is not a disembodied spirit. We are in the flesh, and God has come to us in the Word made flesh. There is always danger that 'form will smother spirit, and ritual act take the place of spontaneous prayer, the outward and visible sign obscure the inward grace.' But the risk we are bound to take. The work is most timely, and will be perhaps of more help to Free Churchmen than to those of the historic communions. For there are significant movements in all the Churches betraying something like a unity of the Spirit. Despite tradition and prejudice and customary practice there is revision of thought and a sincere curiosity and quest and questioning and a more or less timid experimenting in ritual and corporate prayer in all the Free Churches, and these innovations all point in a catholic direction.

There is also in many of these circles a return to a more sacramental religion. There are many causes for this Free Church state of mind. Our traditional forms have not been found in these latter days to be sufficiently expressive of our religious feeling and desire, have not provided enough feeding ground for a soul that cries out for a supernatural religion as distinct from mere humanitarianism, nor have they always guarded the full rich Christian faith. Miss Underhill's book we believe will notably serve the cause of the reunion of the Christian Churches, it will lead us back to the enduring elements in the Christian religion, the deeply satisfying thought of the transcendence and glory of God, who is the end of all desire.

A. E. WHITHAM.

Great Issues : Studies in Reconciliation. By Neville S. Talbot, D.D., M.C. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d.)

This brave book, inspired by an intense devotion to the Church, and a desire to see it so purified that it may be made the Reconciling Power of God in the world to-day, is just the book which many who have been anxiously scanning the signs of the times and awaiting a word of confidence and hope, have been waiting for. Dr. Talbot is a convinced believer in the power of the Church to save the world: but this the Church will do—not by secularizing her message, but by spiritualizing the world. The note of urgency is present throughout the book: it is not too much to say that the writer has been *inspired* to write it: for he is convinced that the world to-day is under sentence of death through lack of faith in God. Although the whole book is a vehement protest against those who would secularize religion, the author must not be regarded as belonging to the school who regard religion as a flight from the world. The Kingdom of God is no mirage or pious other-worldly hope: though eternal it is to be established here. *But how?* It is here that Dr. Talbot gets to the heart of his theme. His plea is for a reconciliation of the two orders, the temporal and the eternal, the supernatural and the natural, the spiritual and the sensible. The whole book is a very powerful sermon—beautifully phrased and of choice spirit—based on the great words of Paul, to wit, that *God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself*. The author believes that once the elemental problems of reconciliation are alive, Christianity comes into its own. Nothing but the Gospel of Reconciliation can grasp the tremendous nettle of existence. The world to-day is just emerging from the ice-age in which the idea of God has well-nigh been eclipsed. There has been a prolonged lapsing away from the ages of faith. The rebound of the pendulum from ecclesiastical autocracy and medieval theology had swung to a barren scepticism. Hence the fostering of acquisitive instincts and the dwarfing of instincts social and spiritual. In an interesting survey Dr. Talbot describes this process. Yet Christianity has survived the glacial influences of modern times. It has suffered but it has survived. He notes the return tendency. The scientists are repairing

what they had laid waste, and the word 'exit' can be written over metaphysical naturalism. There has been a re-enthroning of the values inherent in personality. After three illuminating chapters on 'The relevance of the Old Testament,' 'The relevance of the New Testament,' and 'Disappointed Hope of the New Testament,' the author reaches the conclusion that the Kingdom of God is here. We should cease singing those monstrously misleading lines, 'Thy Kingdom come, O God, Thy rule, O Christ, begin!' for it has begun, yea, *it is here*. No part of the book is more valuable than the interpretation of the eschatological problem. The author looks for a re-united Church—a Church of the Reconciliation, which shall become the Church of the Atonement, central in its life being the Cross, the pledge of the actuality of the reconciliation once given by God, the pledge therefore of the resurrection to recovered life and power of the peace which is in Christ. This brief review cannot adequately express the consummate value of this book. It is a very vital contribution to current religious thought, nor is its value much lessened by the author's failure to see that the Church does not of necessity depart from the declaration of its spiritual gospel, even though it lends a hand—as it did through Copec—to the shaping of an economic creed and an international programme which shall be in accord with its faith.

PERCY S. CARDEN.

Modern Evangelism. By William C. Macdonald, M.A. (James Clarke & Co., Ltd. 3s. 6d. net.)

This is Mr. Macdonald's first book, and it is dedicated to the members of his Church at Palmerston Place, Edinburgh. It is a convincing plea for Evangelism addressed especially to the Church of Scotland, and is the result of a ten minutes' address before the General Assembly, being the substance of what Mr. Macdonald desired to say on that occasion. We are told that this young minister has a full Church, and is sure that the Evangelical presentation of the Gospel, with its glowing certainty of spirit, which was once not his, but now possesses him, has everything to do with the listening and responding crowd. He pays tribute to Karl Barth who showed him how he could accept the results of modern criticism and yet retain his faith in the Bible as the Word of God, and to Wilfred Monod, who rekindled the Evangelical fire in his heart. The book faces boldly the modern situation; the story of difficulty, failure, defeat and even despair so often met with, and the prevalent idea that a man may be just as good a Christian by not going to Church. Pessimism has no part in the book. There is no fear as to the future triumph of Christ, but a bold facing of to-day's situation, and acceptance of its challenge. It is all very personal in its approach to the present state of Church life as the titles of chapters indicate: Have you an inner life? What is an Evangelical Christian? Evangelical Prayer; What of the Cross to-day? Personal Evangelism. In the centre of the volume a chapter is

given to the Evangelical Revival in which 'the secret of Wesley's wonderful life' is discussed. The solution for to-day's dark situation is declared to be the same as in Wesley's time. Wesley had to reach the people by going to them, 'and if there is to be another Evangelical Revival the ministers of to-day must follow Wesley's example.' The situation to-day is not found by many devoted men to be quite so straightforward and simple as the writer seems to suggest. But when he stresses the fact that 'Evangelism costs; it means discipline; it means courage; it means giving up,' he is at the heart of all Christian living and service. This is a clearly written book all can understand; it should make a wide appeal, and prove a tonic in the lives of not a few. It glows with enthusiasm and consecrated purpose.

W. G. T. B.

The Forgiveness of Jesus Christ : A Study in the Gospels.

By W. Emery Barnes, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 3s. 6d. net.)

Following an impulse received from Dr. Swete's *The Forgiveness of Sins*, Dr. Barnes has examined the passages in the Gospels that are concerned with forgiveness: in the last two chapters of his book there are included passages from the Apocalypse, 1 Corinthians, and 1 Peter. First of all he sketches, necessarily with brevity that precludes completeness, the O.T. background. The N.T. teaching also has a chapter to itself. This, it is pointed out, has to do not only with sin but with the sinner; its issue is restitution to the state called in the N.T. 'salvation.' But to know what God's forgiveness is, realization of the nature of sin is necessary. The method adopted here is both critical and exegetical. The relevant passages are given in the R.V. text. These are critically examined. Exposition follows, in which the use of imagination is not always avoided. The attitude towards the Gospel records is conservative. Form-criticism is not regarded with favour: Dibelius 'walks on the razor's edge' in applying his methods. Advanced critics will not agree with some of his conclusions, yet Dr. Barnes is a wise guide, at times even an audacious guide. His style is lucid, his expositions are lit up with literary allusions. This, indeed, is a good example of what popular theology should be. It will be of value especially for those interested in Christian doctrine who are not equipped with technical knowledge.

J. C. MANTRIPP.

Man and his Maker. By Percy Dearmer, D.D. (S.C.M. 3s. 6d.)

For some years before his death, Canon Dearmer had been engaged in the writing of this book, which is the fruit of his mature thinking on some of the greatest questions presented by life. He discusses the problems of imperfection, pain, misery, and evil, with a sensitiveness which revolts against the complacent solutions of the comfortable, and rejects Pope's 'partial evil, universal good.' With a scientific

regard for the exact phrase and for precise statement, Dr. Dearmer envisages all the relevant facts, and brings illumination to them from the realms of biology, chemistry, astronomy, and religion. No difficulty is evaded, and such topics as free will and progress are treated with extraordinary freshness and vitality. In the second part of the book, which is concerned with the argument for design in the universe, it is interesting to see Paley's *Evidences* (1794) and Whewell's *Astronomy and General Physics* (1833) rescued from undeserved oblivion and related to the argument, together with Darwin and Weissmann, Lloyd Morgan and Professor Alexander. Creation cannot be dated, but is continuous and still going on; human nature is continuous with the temporal and the eternal; God is the highest in the order of reality; and this highest must be at least personal: these are some of the conclusions reached. An intelligible Christian faith is here set forth with clearness, simplicity, and a deep conviction that man is at his best when he believes most sanely and simply in God.

S. G. DIMOND.

Prophet and Priest in Old Israel. By Adam C. Welch, D.D.
(Student Christian Movement Press. 4s. 6d. net.)

The author's name is sufficient guarantee of the quality of this book on the much-worked theme of Old Testament religion. Dr. Welch's scholarship and independent line of consideration help to make this presentation vigorous and arresting for the student of the Old Testament. It is particularly a discussion of the relationship between prophetic and priestly elements in Old Testament religion, in which the author challenges the widely accepted notion that the prophets were in opposition to the priestly system. Dr. Welch shows how rich was the contribution made by Hebrew faith to the enrichment of worship. The Evangelical Church has given high place to the ethical messages of the prophets and has spared no labour in order to make clear the meaning and scope of that message. But it has not always acknowledged the extent of its debt to the older faith in connexion with its worship. The prophets had been reared in this worship and thereby showed it to be fruitful. The purpose of this volume is to show prophet and priest in their real relationship, and sketch how much they effected rather than the extent of their failure.

The Great Good News. By J. C. Mantripp. (Epworth Press. 3s. 6d. net.)

The publication of yet another volume on the earliest Gospel is welcome. It is a devotional book full of careful thought studies revealing much insight. Mr. Mantripp has based his studies on the first chapter of the Gospel according to St. Mark and it is interesting to note what a complete record of the 'good news' is therein contained. This volume will contribute much to the character of the Christian reader and while the emotions are not neglected, they are not predominant as

in some books of this type. For study classes and for private reading we can highly commend it. For the purposes the sub-divisions of the chapters add point and clarity to the subject. As its pages are studied the Christ of every age emerges, not as a dead fact but as the world's Redeemer and ours. Any book which accomplishes this is worth while.

Kant's Metaphysic of Experience. By H. J. Paton. 2 vols.
(Allen & Unwin. 30s. net.)

The return to the philosophy of Kant, the founder of modern philosophy, is a marked tendency of our times. Partly he is being remembered as the philosopher of Protestantism, over against the revived authority of Aquinas; partly he is seen by the professional philosophers to be the mighty pioneer of new ways of thought. In the present confusion of ideas, when we seem to have lost our way, it is tempting to go back to the originator for guidance. Professor Paton thinks that a modification of Kant's views to suit the new science will best meet the need of our times for a philosophy. He points to Alexander's *Space, Time & Deity* as in part such a reconstruction, though recognizing the great originality of both him and Whitehead. The difficulty hitherto has been to find the real Kant, for in spite of the expositions of Caird, Watson, Ward and others, we have heard more of what he ought to have said than of what he did say. The recent studies by Professors Kemp Smith and Pritchard have been very polemical, and it was time that somebody undertook both to expound Kant and to defend him. This has been most ably done by Professor Paton, who has broken up the first half of the *Pure Reason* into sections, and has explained and discussed the arguments in detail. He has not been afraid to repeat his conclusions more than once, or to safeguard his interpretations by an abundance of footnotes; he conducts a running fight with critics like Vaihinger and Kemp Smith, and shows a deference to Kant which is remarkable. Full justice is done to the complexity and subtlety as well as to the obscurity of Kant's thought, though one may doubt whether sympathy has not over-ridden justice in many places. Unfortunately only one half of the first *Kritik* has yet been discussed, and that in our view the least important half. A complete commentary upon Kant's works, upon the present scale, would take half a dozen volumes! It is to be hoped that Professor Paton will at least finish the first *Kritik*, for at present Kemp Smith's destructive criticism holds the field. For ourselves we have little doubt that Mr. Paton is in the main right in his interpretation, though we have little faith in revivals and restorations; they generally turn out to be reactions. It is difficult to believe that the philosophies of Bergson, Whitehead and Hartmann, for instance, can be reconciled by a remodelling of Kant. The impression one gets upon a review of the great Kantian and post-Kantian movement, is that it has all got to be done again in modern terms. However, it is most important that English-speaking students

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should see Kant's work in its true lineaments, and to this end Professor Paton has made, in large measure, the most sympathetic and understanding contribution in our language.

ATKINSON LEE.

Psychology and Religion in Early Childhood. By J. W. D. Smith, M.A., Ed.B. (S.C.M.P. 2s. 6d. net.)

This little book is announced as of greater importance than its small size might suggest. The subject is certainly of vital importance, but whether any parent will find this discussion particularly helpful is quite another matter. To begin with, the parent will not find it easy reading unless some little psychology has been read; and the body of the book is not so much concerned with the child mind as with the grown-up. Then, like so many expert psychologists the author is successful in getting over the sense that the psychologist knows far more than the Saint. In a book so brief and with a subject so great it is impossible for the writer to say more than a fraction of what is in his mind.

A Book of Prayers for Schools. (S.C.M.P. 6s. net.)

The Student Christian Movement has earned the gratitude of all workers amongst the young, and especially those in colleges, by the issue of a 'Book of Prayers for Schools.' It is a collection of litanies and prayers, old and new, and has been produced at the urgent request of many school principals. The book is comprehensive and yet simple. The various types of services have been culled from the great treasures of devotion ancient and modern. Every aspect of personal and school life is dealt with, as are the wider concerns of national and international affairs. Many of the prayers and litanies are published here for the first time. Not least among the treasures of the book is the calendar of great men and women of the past and present, whose devotion to life and work may well inspire our service and vocation. To all who conspired in its making we are grateful for this volume. Methodism has co-operated in this achievement by the services prepared by Rev. Harry Biseker, and especially by the evening prayers compiled by Rev. Conrad Skinner, of the Leys School.

The Speaker's Bible. Isaiah, Vol. II. Edited by E. Hastings, M.A. (Speaker's Bible Office, Aberdeen. 9s. 6d. net.)

This second Volume, from Chapter Forty, completes the Book of Isaiah. There is the usual remarkable index to sermons on the subject matter, numbering twenty-four pages. The opening article is by G. H. Morrison on 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God,' a truly inspired word which makes a strong introduction to this wonderful piece of selection and compilation. But there is also much that is new in this, as in the other volumes, written by the Editor and others. Great labour must have been expended in opening up this mine of up-to-date comment and teaching on the great and living subjects touching to-day's life.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

The Hero : A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama. By Lord Raglan. (Methuen and Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

This is a volume that is well worth the attention of everyone who is interested in folk-lore. It is full of interesting matter, and is very readable. The main thesis of the book is that tradition is always derived from dramatic ritual, and never from historic fact. No one who knows anything about the subject is likely to dispute the contention that a great deal of legendary material does derive from ritual drama, but the other conclusion is sure to be strongly disputed. The whole of Lord Raglan's study, in fact, is an excellent illustration of what has happened so often in this region. Some theory is advanced in which there may be a good deal of truth, when it is applied with judgement and restraint, but then the theory is ridden to death, and made to explain everything. In Max Müller's day it was sun-myths, and now we have Lord Raglan going to the other extreme and declaring that there is no such thing as a sun-myth. And this in the face of innumerable rituals and myths where the reference is quite unmistakable, like those (to give only a couple of examples) of Heitsi-Ebib among the Hottentots and Qat among the Melanesians. Lord Raglan conveniently ignores all the evidence as to the historicity of tradition. In his chapter on the tale of Troy, for example, he argues that there is no atom of history in Homer, but he never even mentions the striking confirmation of some of the details, such as Dr. Schoch's establishment of the fact that there was a total eclipse of the sun visible in Ithaca in April, 1178 B.C. Since that has never happened since, or for thousands of years before, it tallies very remarkably with Homer's story of the eclipse which marked the return of Odysseus to Ithaca, as narrated in the *Odyssey*. One trouble is that Lord Raglan lumps all traditional material together, and fails to distinguish (though it is not really very difficult) between the pure myth, which merely symbolizes some great fact of Nature; the folktale, which frequently builds a story around some prehistoric usage; and the tradition, which may, and often undoubtedly does, preserve some historic fact. Neither does Lord Raglan allow for the lapse of time that is necessary for the attachment of a myth to a real person. He speaks of fifty years as a probable time in which a myth may grow up around a historic personage, which is far too short a period. Lady Godiva and her husband are historic, but there is no trace of the famous legend in connexion with them until about three hundred years after their time. The aetiological myth of a naked woman riding in procession is, of course, incredibly ancient, but it took three centuries for it to fix itself on to a real personage. Lord Raglan says expressly that it would be useless to inquire among the inhabitants of Marston Moor or Naseby as to what happened at the battles in the Civil War, because the memory of events three centuries old

is hopelessly lost. Now it happens that, some twenty-five years ago, I found there was a surviving tradition at Marston Moor as to a wound received by Cromwell in the fight, and as to the very cottage where he was taken to have it dressed. I had forgotten (or had never known) that Cromwell was wounded at Marston Moor, but when I looked it up I found that it was a fact. The villagers who related the story and pointed out the cottage had certainly never read a life of Cromwell, or a history of the Civil War. I dissent very strongly, therefore, from one half of the thesis Lord Raglan's book is written to prove, but nevertheless commend the volume to those who are interested in legend and tradition as a serious and notable (if very one-sided) study of a very interesting subject. HENRY BETT.

The Desert Fathers. By Helen Waddell. (Constable & Co. 7s. 6d.)

Miss Helen Waddell has already won for herself a high place among the students of medieval literature. Her first book of any account, *The Wandering Scholar*, had a large circulation, and was well worthy of the reception that it won from scholars as well as the public. Her next important work, *Peter Abelard*, was a novel based upon the facts of Abelard's life, and showed Miss Waddell's familiarity with everything connected with twelfth-century Paris, as also with the thought and life of the great Abelard himself. She has now brought out translations from *The Desert Fathers*, a series of selections from the vast collection of *Vitae Patrium*—a collection of the lives and sayings of the Desert Fathers, mostly in Egypt and Syria, edited by the learned Rosweide, printed at Antwerp in 1615 at the famous Plantin Press, and brought out in a folio edition of more than one thousand pages in double column in 1628. All students who have had to do with early Monasticism acknowledge their indebtedness to this wonderful collection. I first came across it over thirty years ago when writing my *Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*. Miss Waddell tells us that sixteen years ago she came across it, 'not for its own sake, but in a plan I had for reading for myself. It held me then as now by its strange timelessness.' It is this 'timelessness'—to use Miss Waddell's phrase—of the work which constitutes its appeal to all. Miss Waddell's collection is, of course, very limited but contains some of the best things: e.g. Cassian on Accidie. Accidie, which was one of the seven deadly sins of the medieval world, has for some astonishing reason in more modern times been dropped out—until attention was drawn to it by a sermon of Dean Paget almost fifty years ago—although there is no more powerful sin to-day. It might interest some of our readers to know that one of the most wonderful incidents in that great novel by Reade, *The Cloister and the Hearth*, was taken word for word from one of the stories in the *Vitae Patrium*. But Reade was a noted scholar and *The Cloister and the Hearth* is one of the few great historical novels which bring before the reader the realities of the Middle Ages. We may add that, like all productions of Constable & Co., the book is beautifully got up both in format and in printing. H. B. WORKMAN.

Analecta Bollandiana, Tomus 54 Fasc. 3 & 4.—The first article is by M. Delehaye and deals with recent contributions to the hagiography of Rome and North Africa, especially the work of the Papal Academy of Archaeology and the Institute of Christian Archaeology at Rome. Much of this material is concerned with the exploration of Roman burial-grounds, and in one, which is in the neighbourhood of the Viale Regina Margherita, a very interesting discovery has been made. It is the tomb of a martyr, dating from the middle of the third century, and it bears the name of Novatian. It is possible that this is the famous schismatic who was the contemporary of Cyprian. According to Socrates Novatian died a martyr's death, so that the description of him on the tomb would be appropriate. The second article, by M. de Gaiffier, is a detailed study of the martyrology and the collection of legends of the saints attributed to Hermann Greven, a Carthusian of Cologne in the fifteenth century. The autograph manuscripts of both works survive. The headings of a Berlin manuscript of Greven's work are given and many of the saints mentioned are of special interest to us in this land—St. Botolph, St. Chad, St. Dunstan, and St. Kenelm among the rest. A large proportion of the saints named belong to the northern lands, as perhaps is to be expected from the locality of the compiler. The third article is by M. Peeters, and deals with the life of St. John of Lycopolis, as recorded in a series of Coptic fragments recently edited by Dr. Till, in his *Koptische Heiligen-und Märtyrerlegenden*. These seem to throw light at some points on questions relating to the recorded lives of the Fathers of the Desert, especially in the *Lausiac History*. There is the usual ample bibliography.

HENRY BETT.

The Way and the Faith. By A. Bevil Browne. (Macmillan. 6s.)

Mr. Browne has attempted, and with a distinct measure of success, to compress into a small volume a clear and interesting account of the first four and a half centuries of Christian history. Admittedly he has sacrificed detail and the discussion of debatable points in the interest of brevity, but on the other hand he has given extended treatment to the most momentous matters. It is refreshing to find less emphasis on persecution and more on the expansion of the Church in the first three centuries; and in no small work have we found such an admirable account of the Arian controversy, which includes a picture of the Council of Nicaea extraordinarily vivid in its portraits of the leading figures. A parallel setting of the creed of Caesarea and the creed of Nicaea is a useful feature, and the analysis of the issues in the doctrinal discussion is simple and clear. In dealing with the tangled intrigue and hair-splitting controversies of the time, this is no mean achievement. The price of brevity has to be paid, and it is heavy. One would wish for more adequate treatment of Tertullian and Origen, for example, but as compensation we are given an unusually sympathetic sketch of Julian, and the later Church Fathers

are finely portrayed. The references to sources at the end of each chapter will help the student. Written primarily for Day and Sunday-School teachers, this book will be warmly welcomed.

S. G. DIMOND.

Prophets of the Soul. By Joseph M. M. Gray. (Abingdon Press. 2 dollars.)

The religious history of any nation is best read in the biographies of its saints and leaders. This is particularly true of America where the pilgrim way of the Church has been made by the prophets of the soul. The story begins with the Puritan Commonwealth in which the three Mather brothers, Richard, Increase and Cotton, provided rigorous discipline for the Pilgrim Fathers and concludes with the social Christianity of Washington Gladden with its larger liberties. The stages of the progress are marked by the terrible theology of Jonathan Edwards, the compelling oratory of George Whitefield, and the ceaseless evangelism of the Methodist itinerants, Jesse Lee and Francis Asbury for the first part. The story goes on to show Unitarianism, that rebellious child of stern Calvinism, as typified in William E. Channing, and Congregationalism as portrayed in the beloved heretic Horace Bushnell, who, it is said, brought theology back to Christ. Two other biographies complete the study. These are of Phillips Brooks and George A. Gordon. The first, by his prophetic goodness interpreted to his generation the humanity of Christ and the divinity possible to men. The second, denied the New England scheme of atonement and the everlasting punishment of the wicked and insisted on a simpler, freer faith. This he was able to do in the preaching ministry to which he devoted himself. The survey of the preachers who made America leads one to the conviction that it is religion that will re-make that great nation, rebuild civilization and establish social righteousness. No great civilization can outlive the demise of its religious faith. Humanism and human endeavour are not enough. There is none other Name given under heaven whereby men and nations can be saved but that of Jesus Christ. This book assures us of that elemental truth and for that we are grateful.

John Stuart Mackenzie. Edited by his wife. (Williams & Norgate. 5s.)

Lured by glowing reports of rapid wealth, the father of J. S. Mackenzie emigrated with his young family to South America. Disaster followed disaster, the mother died, the death of the father followed, leaving two boys orphaned. Relatives secured a passage back to Glasgow. A phrenologist was instrumental in giving the turn to scholarship in the case of 'J. S.'—he said the boy was cut out for a Professor. This was interpreted to mean a Professor of Theology, and kindly relatives made it possible for the boy to take a full course at the Glasgow High School, and later the University. The theological

world was then sadly disturbed by what were regarded as shattering doctrines enunciated by Darwin and popularized by Huxley, Tyndall, and others. Herbert Spencer gave a philosophical form to the new biology. The majority of students attracted by the theories of evolution were repelled by the orthodox defenders of the faith who seemed to be fighting a losing battle all along the line. Mackenzie was fascinated by the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, with the consequence that his ardour to become a preacher cooled, and he contemplated becoming a teacher of mathematics—a subject in which he excelled. The influence of Edward Caird turned him in the direction of Hegel. Subsequently, events led him to give much attention to Ethics and Social Philosophy, but this book makes it clear that his heart was in Hegelianism. He may be classed in the group of thinkers who strove for a synthesis which should preserve the older tradition of Plato with the new realism. Mackenzie's main teaching work was at Cardiff as Professor of Philosophy. Here he met the first woman appointed on the regular staff of a British University. Marriage with Professor Millicent Hughes deepened his interest in social work. The philosophy classes of the Cardiff University were in the main made up of theological students. Perhaps because of earlier hopes, Mackenzie gave them of his best. One of his successful students, Dr. W. Tudor Jones, in a chapter of loving appreciation, states roundly that 'it is not too much to say that Sorley, Jones, and Mackenzie between them changed the matter of the preaching of the time. . . . South Wales was more indebted to Mackenzie's teaching in a philosophical sense than to that of anyone else. . . .' The value of the autobiographical chapters of this book is that they present the way that Mackenzie worked out his philosophical position. It gives his thinking about his thinking. Consequently it illuminates much in his large works and the student will find it has considerable exegetical value.

ERNEST BARRETT.

East and West. Edited by Basil Mathews. (S.C.M.P. 3s. 6d.)

Few men have a more intimate knowledge of the problems connected with the relations of the people of the East and the West than Mr. Basil Mathews, who is responsible for this symposium, to which many able writers have contributed. The title of the prologue, by the editor himself, 'There is confusion' suggests the seriousness of the problem. All the writers have something constructive to offer toward its solution, though it is recognized that their contributions may not be the last word. It is pleasing to note that among the writers, who belong to many nations, there are several young men who show a fine grasp of the subject. While all the essays are suggestive that by Mr. G. E. Taylor, on 'The Far Eastern Network' is the most comprehensive. He points out that it was really the West that needed the East more than the East needed the West. Eastern countries were quite satisfied with their existing conditions, and

had the power to turn to the West had they felt the need. But the West, in order to satisfy her requirements turned her attention to the East. Very ably he works out the changes that have been wrought in their political, social and economic life by this action. Mr. Mathews, in his prologue, points out, illustrating by the Revolution in Spain, that we are on the eve of wars, not between nations or races, but between faiths; that we are also witnessing a new 'potent' in that every outstanding leader of new and revolutionary movements in the world to-day makes the winning of the despised peasant central to his educational task.

A. R. SLATER.

The Sugar Colonies and Governor Eyre 1849-1866. By W. L. Mathieson, LL.D. (Longmans Green & Co., Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.)

In his latest work on *The Sugar Colonies and Governor Eyre 1849-1866*, Dr. Mathieson has taken a subject, hitherto little developed, and has attempted to reorientate popular opinion on the comparative effects of Emancipation and Free Trade in the British sugar colonies. He has made much of Sir Henry Barkly's opinion that 'the labour question is at the root of the whole of the misfortunes of Jamaica.' Besides producing an acute labour shortage Emancipation had actually caused a deterioration in the social conditions of the negroes. On the highly controversial subject of Governor Eyre and the stormy career of G. W. Gordon culminating in the negro rising of 1865 Dr. Mathieson has presented both sides at considerable length and absolutely impartially. Despite the wealth of details, proof of intensive research, which make this book so valuable to the student of Colonial history, Dr. Mathieson's lucid and easy style never allows the narrative to become tedious.

F. A. STUART.

Martyrs of Jesus, by Edward T. Stoneham, 1/-, is published by the Sussex Martyrs Commemoration Council, with a foreword by the Hon. L. W. Joynson-Hicks. It is the account of those who died for the Reformation Faith in the Sussex Area, who lived during the period from Henry VIII to Mary's reign, in which they died. This little book exemplifies the cheerful and even joyous spirit of those dour defenders of the Evangelical faith. It is meant to perpetuate their memory, and to assert that the liberty and faith worth dying for are surely worth maintaining.

GENERAL

Thought and Imagination in Art and Life. By Katharine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.) (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.)

The author, a modern mystic, has told us in this book of stimulating essays why some people prefer to read tragedies, and others comedies, and why some are vociferous readers of novels. She has told us many other things. It is one of the most illuminating collections of essays which has come our way for years. Philosophy, psychology, and poetry are here blended in a psalm of beauty. The highways and by-ways of literature are traversed with a composure and discernment born of an exquisitely sensitive and cultivated mind: perhaps we should say, mind and soul. And the style is equal to the thought. The pilgrimage has resulted in a book of essays which stamp the writer as belonging to the great tradition of English Essayists. We shall hear more of her. While perfectly at home with the prose writers, in the field of imaginative poetry she shews rare insight, her essay on 'Imagination and the Poets' being of a very high order. The versatility of the author is remarkable, as she passes from a delightful essay on 'The sense of humour' to such subjects as 'The finite Emerson.' Her range comprises most of the experiences of the way trodden by a modern mystic—her essays on Love, Consolations, The Moral Law, Instinct and Immortality, are all valuable. Dr. Wilson might have had more to say about 'Sympathy,' and she might have said something different—if she had been brought up, as some of us were, on such imperishable sermons as F. W. Robertson's 'The Sympathy of Christ.' She might then have added to her epigram 'Sympathy is the sinner's virtue,' by coining another on the more perfect sympathy of the saint. It only remains to add that the whole range of essays is based on the common assumption that in philosophizing on art and life there is room for rationalized feeling as apart from reasoned argument.

PERCY S. CARDEN.

A Greek-English Lexicon. Compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott. A new edition revised and augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones, D.Litt., with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie, M.A., and with the co-operation of many scholars. Part 9: *sisillos—tragao.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 10s. 6d.)

The end of the new *Liddell and Scott*, a noble work of scholarship, is in sight. This ninth part extends almost to the end of the letter *tau*, so that one or at the most two instalments remain to be issued. For students of classical Greek the work is of course quite indispensable. But we would stress again its great value for students of

the *Koine*, and of the Greek Bible, the outstanding memorial of the later language. The vocabulary of the literary *Koine* writers such as Polybius, Philo, &c., and that of the vernacular type seen especially in the papyri are well represented. It is a profitable exercise for the reader of the Greek Testament to work through a section from the lexicons of Souter or Abbott-Smith in the light of the corresponding articles in the new *Liddell and Scott*. We call attention to the notes on some important New Testament terms, e.g. *skandalon*, the basic idea being a 'snare,' 'trap,' rather than a 'stumbling-block.' The evidence of the inscriptions, papyri, and the LXX confirms the rendering of Paul's *skolops* (2 Cor. xii. 7) as 'thorn' (R.V. marg. 'stake'). We note also the illustrations of the metaphorical use of *skullo* in late Greek in the general sense 'annoy,' 'distress,' the compound *suskullomai* being included in this edition. The 'intellectual scavenger' (*spermologos*), the term of abuse in Acts xvii. 18, is illustrated in Demosthenes 18, 127. For *stoicheia* (2 Pet. iii. 10) the meaning 'stars' is given, and, tentatively, 'planets' in Gal. iv. 3, Col. ii. 8. On this important term the valuable discussion in Moulton-Milligan's *Vocabulary* should be consulted, and also Mayor's note on 2 Pet. iii. 10. We mark also the note on *stauros*, the sense 'conclude,' 'infer' for *sumbibazo* in Acts ix. 22, 'pretend to agree with' for *sunupokrinomai* in Gal. ii. 13 (though *Ep. of Aristeas* 267 might be cited for the more usual meaning of the verb), and the treatment of salient ethical terms such as *sophia*, *suneidesis*, *soteria*, and *teleios*. These examples are perhaps sufficient to show that in the new *Liddell and Scott* the student of the Greek language, and not least of its Hellenistic developments, will be able to glean very profitably and with pleasure. If he can add W. Bauer's *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* (third recently revised edition) and the lexicon of Patristic Greek (now in course of preparation) the student of the Greek Testament and of early Christian literature will be adequately equipped.

H. G. MEECHAM.

The Record of the National Government. By Ramsay Muir.
(George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 5s. net.)

The author has packed into some two hundred pages a penetrating survey of the work of the present Government. Mr. Ramsay Muir began by supporting it, but has gradually found himself in a position of complete opposition. He certainly tries to give credit for the work considered to be good, but does not pretend to write as one who can be impartial. It is all to the good in this discussion that personalities have been avoided and that mere denunciation has been left out. But he is quite sure that the National Government is 'the worst, the weakest, the most timidous, and the most incompetent that Britain has known since the days of Lord North.' Having these convictions the book cannot escape the tone of its pages, nor does the author wish that it should be otherwise. He has a set purpose, there is no doubt as to what it is, and he is successful from his own

view in the conclusions drawn. He insists that the worst failures have been due to 'the Nationalism of its policy and to its abandonment or reversal of the principles upon which the greatness of Britain was built during the nineteenth century.' The bulk of the volume consists of detailed examination of the main features of the Government's work; its financial policy; its tariff system, and the claims that have been made for it. Its agricultural policy; its treatment of the problem of unemployment; the effects of the Ottawa Agreement, and finally, of what is regarded as the disastrous results of its foreign policy. Certainly, this is a book to read by supporters of the Government, as well as by those of the views expressed in this cogent and objective fashion. These are criticisms which will have to be met, and citizens of all shades of opinion would do well to study this forthright presentation of facts.

Christ's Way and the World's in Church, State and Society.

By Henry Smith Leiper. (Abingdon Press. 90 cents; paper 65 cents.)

The author of this book (Dr. Leiper) is a far-travelled thinker who gives a vivid portrayal of the world situation confronting the Churches as a result of the dominance of the secular in life and the rise of nationalism and communism among the peoples. This volume is a survey of the subjects to be considered at an international conference to be held in Oxford next summer. This time of transition (or culmination as some think) calls for study of the issues which now present themselves lest the Church become the slave rather than the conscience of civilization. A compact but disintegrating world confronts us, and we must know what Christianity has to offer. The weaknesses and the powers of the Church call for care and the need for a sense of world citizenship and economic adjustment are obvious. We have to present a solution rather than to issue a further challenge. This well-conceived book comes as a call to earnest thought and, we hope, to effective unity in aim and achievement on the part of the Churches who can serve the commonweal in the one way that will be the salvation of a distraught world.

Democracy and Revolution. By Louis A. Fenn. (S.C.M. Press. 3s. 6d.)

A most refreshing and invigorating bit of propaganda. Delightfully sure is the writer that he has the truth. No paralysis of doubt for him. More than once he handsomely admits that those who do not accept in full his views may not be thereby morally blameworthy. They are to be pitied, but he is magnanimous enough to suggest that there may be other grounds of offending than those of original sin. Their error is not sheer wickedness, although only the more enlightened would absolve them from deliberate evil—and he is enlightened. Neither are those who do not see eye to eye with him necessarily congenitally muddleheaded, though really it is difficult for a clear thinker to come to any other conclusion—and he is a clear thinker.

Once—as a Liberal—he was blind, but now he sees. In this book he sets out to tell the unlearned a few things. He tells them in plain terms, although he does not tell them that some of the plain terms are of the question-begging order. The burden of his message and argument is that Capitalism—lock, stock, and barrel—is bad. It is the root of all human ills. It is also very poorly and nigh to perishing—though it is capable of giving a nasty kick now and then. He has a remedy. Pure blooded Socialism, the militant, not the mild variety. His forthrightness may be gauged by his declaration to the Churches. Here is no trimming. He says: ‘One cannot be a fully consistent Christian unless one is at the same time a militant socialist.’ So there! He will not have it that there can be such a thing as open-mindedness, nor does he make room for pacifists. Socialism is worth fighting for. And socialism must come! If it cannot come peacefully, if the enemy refuses to capitulate, well—à la lanterne! But only, mind you, as a very last resort. Truth may prevail, and it may come via Moscow. The writer is, as you see, thorough. Even the *Daily Herald* may mislead the workers. So who shall stand? The whole-heartedness of this book is really charming and it is well argued from the writer’s standpoint. Even the queer people who will persist in doubting whether the purest socialism and the serpentless Paradise are necessarily identical will thoroughly enjoy reading this virile, challenging, and splendidly cocksure work. ERNEST BARRETT.

An International Police Force. By W. Bryn Thomas. Foreword by Arthur Henderson, M.P. (Allenson & Co., Ltd. 3s. 6d.)

Any serious attempt to suggest a means by which the peace of the world may be secured must be given careful consideration. It cannot be expected that a book that deals with the difficult question of the provision of an international police force to attain this object will meet with full approval. But so carefully does the writer marshal his facts that even those who previously doubted the wisdom of this method will need to review their attitude. The object of this police force is briefly stated. ‘To inaugurate a system of policing the world, that is, of an International Police Force, is merely to take that right of imposing its own will out of the hands of the *individual* State and placing it in the hands of the States collectively assembled, either in a League of Nations or in some such body.’ Is it possible at present to establish and carry out a universal system of arbitration without any coercive ‘sanctions’? The writer argues that, under present conditions this is not possible, though he believes the day will come when international relations will be governed, as is largely the case now in civil life, on a basis of mutual contract and mutual convenience. While it is clear the writer has still great faith in the League of Nations as the body best fitted for this task he strongly urges that the representatives to his Council shall be elected directly by the people of the nations concerned.

ARTHUR R. SLATER.

The Psychic Powers of Christ. By J. S. M. Ward. (Williams & Norgate. 5s. net.)

The author is Father Superior, the Abbey of Christ the King, New Barnet. He is careful to disown any charge of being a Spiritualist, or Theosophist or even a Jesuit. For although his high-sounding ecclesiastical title would seem to point in a very definite direction, it is not Rome, but 'the orthodox Catholic Church,' that is to say, a branch of the Eastern Church. This little explanation throws some light on the demand made that unless the unbelievable things set forth are believed then the gentle reader cannot be a Christian. In the prologue, Father Ward delivers himself on the present position of the Church, and thinks there is a possibility of 'creating a common meeting-ground for all who believe in the essentials of the Christian Faith.' Such a great reunion would form a 'Centre Party in spiritual matters, wherein would be gathered all who adhere to the faith once delivered to the Saints.' He agrees that men have 'free souls and should use the intelligence God has given them.' But in addition to loyalty to Christ, they must accept 'fundamental truths,' the Virgin Birth and the physical resurrection of Christ. The whole body of the book discusses what is called 'the psychic powers of Christ,' and sets out to explain, manifestly to the author's satisfaction, through the 'psychic sciences' everything unusual in Christ's life. Father Ward shows 'that the original statements concerning the nature of our Lord's birth and resurrection are not contrary to the laws of Nature, but are reasonable developments of certain powers which it has been proved exist in embryonic form in man.' He claims to be modern by using 'the science of psychic research against that of materialistic biologists.' The midwife's story in 'The Protevangelion' is completely relied on to build his version of the birth of Christ, and 'dematerialization' by the Divine Son, and 'rematerialization' do the rest. The miracles, the works of healing, the Resurrection and Ascension are all explained as through the perfect psychic powers of Christ. And it appears that 'there is nothing unreasonable in holding that in the distant future the human race, if it makes the necessary effort, could not evolve to a state in which it could control matter by its will, even as did our Lord.' A book likely to be read by Spiritualists, but not likely to gather into one all who adhere to the faith once delivered to the Saints.

W. G. THORNAL BAKER.

Through the Year with Leslie Weatherhead. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d.)

Those who have been helped in body and soul by the minister of the City Temple will appreciate this well produced book. Miss Muriel Clark has made the choice from his books with care and discrimination. The selection for each month covers much human need and reveals the Christian ethic that meets the need. It was probably a

touch of genius that chose August for the consideration of Suffering when, in the joy of holiday we are best fitted to study the perplexities of pain. As a gift book this volume will be as appreciated as it is good.

Vitality. By Malcolm Spencer. (S.C.M.P. 1s. net.)

This cheap issue of the book first published in 1931 is concerned with the cultivation of the vitality possible to every man's life; the whole man, body, mind and spirit; and the available vitality awaiting the spirit of man from the Spirit of God. The actual reading of these hundred odd pages is a healthy exercise, for in a remarkable way the author's discussion pulsates vitality. It is successful in opening up a wide range of vision and should be helpful to those starting out on life. The greater part of the book is concerned with suggestions for a life of communion out of deep appreciation of every manifestation of divine life in the natural world and in experience. Every consideration is based upon a vital belief in God as the invincible good, before whom all that is evil in life must yield.

Wife v. Husband in the Courts. By Claud Mullins. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 3s. 6d.)

Mr. Mullins here follows up his valuable book on *Marriage, Children and God* by an account of the way in which, as a Metropolitan Police Magistrate, he has dealt with matrimonial cases. He has enlisted the help of ministers of religion and of doctors to investigate cases, has made effective use of Probation Officers and Court Missionaries. In four years' work in Police Courts he has never found any difficulty in inducing parties to suspend their legal hostilities while they see a social, religious or medical investigator. Many cases have thus been settled out of Court. This wise and practical book will indicate to other Justices how a great number of valuable reforms can be carried out even without any change in the law.

Agape. By David Coburn. (A. H. Stockwell. 6s. net.)

This is an effort in the name of poetry to portray 'the Story of Jesus' as told by His friends in the New Testament. The book seeks to accomplish this in six hundred separate depictions, each of nine lines. The purpose of it all is difficult to see as no clarity is given to the New Testament narrative, and there is no elucidation of Gospel truth. The answer no doubt would be that it is simply 'the story' told. It is reverently done and may find a public with those who prefer everything in lines.

Jesus Christ The Word of God. By Huw Edwards. (Arthur H. Stockwell. 7s. 6d. net.)

The author's modestly disarming preface permits the recall of Johnson's dictum that a book made from books may be most useful even if not great. In addition to warming himself at the glow of Mr. Edwards' faith, the reader will enjoy and profit by the valuable things gathered from many sources in a course of wide reading around a theme intensely believed in.

Facts and Fancies. By George W. Wear. (Meadow Pub. Co., Boston. \$1.50.)

This is an interesting collection of stories recounting impressions of places re-visited after many years, and experiences and anecdotes from the author's long memory extending over more than seventy years. The human interest of this little book is considerable; there are arresting chapters on such subjects as Prairie Fires, Music, Narrow Escapes, Salvation, Black and the Birdman. The local colour is Californian, fresh in depiction, with many touches of humour.

Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society (Vol. II).—This issue is an International Festival Number, and is devoted to papers read at the conference held in London in connexion with last summer's memorable performances of dances. The ground covered is a wide one. Dr. D. J. Van der Ven writes of 'Dutch Traditional Dances in connexion with Dutch Folk Rites,' Miss Louise Witzig of 'The Swiss Folk Dance and its place in the revival of rural life and customs,' and the author of 'Raggle Taggle,' Professor Walter Starkie, has a most interesting paper on 'Gypsy Folk Lore and Music.' In 'Lazar-nica' by Raina Katzarova and 'The Roumanian Hobby-Horse, the Calusari' by Romus Vuia, we come into contact with what survives of the genuinely primitive in Europe. It is particularly interesting to note that the methods of the English Folk Dance Society have served as a model to other countries, and that even some of the dances from Playford's collection have been adopted abroad. In her paper, 'Aspects of Folk Dance in Different Stages of National Development,' Dr. Elise Van der Ven-Ten Bensel broaches questions that must be in the minds of all interested in folk-dance revival. Her three stages are 'living,' 'dying,' and 'reviving,' and she suggests that new dances should be evolved from the recaptured traditional basis. 'Old ideas and old forms have given rise to new creations which became infused with new life; otherwise a revival would be barren and fruitless. Therefore with reference to folk-dance, one should not say "What is the use of new inventions, when so much that is beautiful has been handed down," but one should reason the other way round: the creation of something new should prove that the old material has accomplished its function in the course of events; it has generated and borne fruit for the present age.' The *Journal* may be obtained from Cecil Sharp-House, 2, Regent's Park Road, London, N.W.1.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The Journal of Theological Studies (October).—There are always some articles of great value to specialists in various branches of sacred study in this Journal. This month there are several of wider general interest as well. The main article is one that will claim the attention of every reader. Mr. Boys Smith, of Cambridge, gives an account of Hume's *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*. Professor Kemp Smith has recently brought out a new edition of the text based on the MS. which is preserved in the library of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Mr. Stephen Hobhouse, whose strange experiences as a Conscientious Objector roused such wide-spread interest in the last year of the War, contributes an account of *Fides et Ratio*, 'the book which introduced Jacob Boehme to William Law.' Canon Streeter has an important article, 'The Much-Belaboured Didache,' in which he takes up an opposite position to that represented in recent pages of the *J.T.S.* by Dean Armitage Robinson and Dom Connolly. The last named scholar has a suggestive series of notes on some Syriacisms in St. Luke. There are many other shorter contributions, and as usual there are a number of competent book reviews.

The Expository Times.—The November and December issues contain two articles by Professor Karl Heim on 'The Present Situation of Theology in Germany.' They are profoundly interesting and illuminating papers. Professor Heim feels acutely the distress of the tension between the two opposing schools of thought in Germany to-day. 'On the one side, the faith in the genius of the race, a new source of revelation, as represented by the German Christians, and more consistently by the German Faith Movement. On the other side—a confessional movement led by the Swiss theologian Barth, who . . . puts forward the lukewarm idea that political convictions have nothing to do with the Church, whose purpose is to deal with the eternal, unchangeable, and everlasting Word.' Heim's development of the hope for reconciling these issues is of the greatest importance.

Articles on 'Best Books' on the Life of Christ (Dr. J. A. Robertson), on St. Paul and his Letters (Dr. W. D. Nevin) are very useful. Among the reviews, a critical finger is laid on the Bishop of Durham's Gifford Lectures on Christian Morality. Perhaps it is owing to the limits imposed by the founder of the Trust that no prominence is given to the place of the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of good living. The Notes of the Month, and articles on 'The Origin and Growth of Religion' (Canon J. B. Harford) and 'Recent Biblical Archaeology' should not be missed.

Congregational Quarterly (October).—The Cambridge Conference Number. Articles include 'Koheleth and the Modern Mood,' by Principal E. J. Price, 'Getting Ready for To-morrow,' by Dr. Ivan Lee Holt, 'William Tindale,' by Rev. A. H. Moncur Sime, and 'German Youth of To-day,' by Mr. Harold Blundell. The Conference Papers have special interest: Dr. W. F. Lofthouse spoke on 'The Christian Conception of Community,' Dr. C. J. Cadoux on 'The Conception of Community in the History of the Church,' Dr. F. E. England on 'The Psychological Foundations of Community,' Professor H. F. Lovell Cocks on 'Community and Political Theory,' Dr. J. H. Oldham on 'The Present Challenge,' and Rev. B. C. Plowright on 'The Way Forward.' The subjects were ably treated and worthily discussed. The Editor—impressed with the marked enthusiasm of some ministers and the general scepticism of the laymen as to the practicability of some of their proposals—thinks that while the Conference reflected the modern pre-occupation with economics it heard too little about the redemptive power of Christ for society as well as for the individual.

AMERICAN

Harvard Theological Review.—The number for July, 1936, contains three articles, which will appeal to three different classes of readers. First comes one from the well-known author of *The Religious Consciousness* and of *India and its Faiths*, Professor James Bissett Pratt. 'God and the Moral Law' is the subject of a paper read as the presidential address to the American Theological Society last year, to introduce the subject of that Conference, Ethics and Theology. The writer found himself driven to the same conclusion as that offered by Bradley in his essay on God and the Absolute. The moral and the mystical impulses of our nature seem by their demand for incompatible solutions to produce an ultimate crux within the religious consciousness. Yet Professor Pratt is not prepared to find satisfaction by taking the side either of the finite or of the infinite God and denying altogether the claims of the discarded doctrine. He hopes that some larger synthesis will be found to harmonize the two concepts and so conserve what is of religious value in both positions. This, he holds, is the task for the theologians, and to them he handed over the solution of his problem with his blessing. The second paper is one for Hebrew experts, and is by Mr. G. R. Driver. They will find rich material in this article dealing with 'Textual and Linguistic Problems of the Book of Psalms.' Apart from the *Harvard Theological Review* the *Journal of Theological Studies* is probably the only periodical in which such high-class work as this can now reach its own circle of readers. The third article is complementary to the first. Julius Seelye Bixler writes a timely paper, 'Josiah Royce—Twenty Years After.' This sympathetic account of the religious philosophy of one of the most stimulating of all American philosophers may seem to some readers as a partial answer to the appeal made by Professor Pratt at the close of his paper already mentioned. (October).—This number contains two articles. The first, occupying

120 pages, is by Mr. W. Telfer, of Clare College, and is a most interesting and learned study of the cult of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. The remainder of the number is a short series of notes by Professor R. V. G. Tasker, of King's College, London, dealing with the Chester Beatty Papyrus and the Caesarean Text of Luke. In recent numbers of *J.T.S.* Professor Tasker has done some useful investigation into the readings of this papyrus in St. John's Gospel, as well as into the related question of Origen's Gospel text. In the present notes he shows that the Caesarean authorities for Luke are less than in the case of Mark, but the conclusion arrived at is that the distinction between the Neutral and Caesarean text in Luke is less than it is in Mark.

Religion in Life.—This remarkably readable quarterly of the American Methodist Church is always well supplied with articles by competent writers on matters of current importance. The Autumn number for 1936 opens with a fine appreciation of Dr. Parkes Cadman by his friend Bishop F. J. McConnell. An article, 'God in History,' follows by Professor Edgar P. Dickie, of St. Andrew's University, known to many by his brilliant translation of some of Karl Heim's books. Prof. J. M. Shaw writes about 'Religion as Response.' Most valuable is Professor F. C. Grant's essay, 'Further Thought on Form Criticism.' Professor C. C. McCown has an interesting account of 'Recent Palestinian Archaeology.' But if these seem intended for the more professional student of theology, there is plenty for the general reader. Those who are deeply interested in the movement of thought among the younger ministers in the States will read with satisfaction an article about 'The Younger Theologians.' Preachers will find delight in reading the articles on 'The Preacher as Interpreter,' and on 'Washington Gladden—And After.' Yet another side is represented by 'The Social Sciences and Religion' and by 'Christianity Confronts Communism.' History and present-day life are merged in 'The Reformation and Present Problems.' If this is not enough Bishop Herbert Welch writes about 'Letters of a Japanese Sailor Boy.' Then there are the book reviews, some of which are exceedingly good. The Editor, Dr. J. W. Langdale, is to be congratulated upon the great success which he has made of this Christian quarterly during the four or five years since he launched the new venture.

The Journal of Religion.—This Quarterly issued by the Divinity Faculty of the University of Chicago keeps closely to its title in choice of subjects. The half-dozen articles, and the critical reviews are all nearly connected with divinity. There is a long article on Primary Data for Religious Inquiry, dealing with the raw materials of value, and the connexions of value leading to the consideration of value and God. The penetrating discussion of The attitude of Isaiah in the crisis of 701, leaves the prophet in his high place among Israel's heroes of faith. Other articles are alive to the modern situation and need; 'Have we passed the Age of Religion?' 'When the Clergyman and the Psychiatrist Meet,' and 'The Contribution of Science to Modern Religion.' The subjects are closely thought out and applied, and of great interest to the student.